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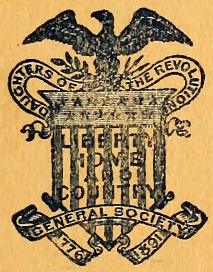
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VL. IV MAY, 1904 No.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

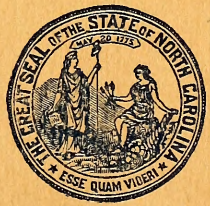


GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

THE LORDS PROPRIETORS OF CAROLINA,

BY

KEMP P. BATTLE, LL. D.



PRICE, 10 CENTS $1 THE YEAR

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

Corrected list

VOL. IV. Began May 1904

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June — The Battle of Ramsour's Mill.
Major William A. Graham.

July — Historic Homes in North Carolina—Quaker Meadows.
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Aug — Rejection of the Federal Constitution in 1788, and its Subsequent Adoption.
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March — The Scotch Irish in N. C

April — Battle Guilford C. H. — German Palatines

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THE

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

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THE LORDS PROPRIETORS OF CAROLINA.

BY KEMP P. BATTLE. LL.D.,

(Professor of History, University of North Carolina).

The first Lord Proprietor of the land now called North Carolina was the accomplished courtier, daring navigator, fierce fighter, elegant poet and learned historian, Sir Walter Raleigh. His energy and lavish expenditures in settling his grand territory, and their dismal failure, are known to all. Beyond the introduction into civilized life of the potato, and giving to our State capital his name, to the county of Robeson a claim to have among her half-breed Indians some drops of the blood of his "Lost Colony," and to the State the sentimental honor of the first white child born and the first Christian baptism, the first Lord Proprietor of Virginia, extending indefinitely southward, is only a tender and cherished memory.

Raleigh, having sold part of his rights and lost the residue by forfeiture for treason, James I. in 1606 regranted the part of the land from the Cape Fear northward to Sir Thomas Gates and many lords and rich merchants, called Adventurers. Under this charter Jamestown was settled. It was vacated in 1624, and in 1629 Charles I. granted to Sir Robert Heath, his Attorney-General, all the land between 31° and 36° north

latitude from the Atlantic to the west "as far as the continent extendeth."

This *de jure* Lord Proprietor was a man of mark in his day. He was an able lawyer and held important positions. He was member of Parliament, Recorder of London, then successively Solicitor-General and Attorney-General, offices of much power in those arbitrary days. As a reward for his activity in advancing the King's tyrannical measures, the grant of Carolina was made to him. He was stringent against non-conformists, prosecuted those who refused to pay forced loans, drew up an elaborate answer to the Petition of Right, procured the conviction of Eliot, Holles, Selden and other patriots for their course in Parliament, conducted the prosecutions of the Star Chamber, which resulted in the atrocious fines, mutilations and imprisonment of Leighton, Prynne, Bostwick and others. So well satisfied was Charles with his zeal that he was elevated to be Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He seems then to have become alarmed at the storm of hatred gathering against the Crown. He was removed from the bench, but, when the King desired to placate his adversaries of the Long Parliament, he was created a Judge of the Court of King's Bench. When the breach between King and Parliament came he sided with the King, and was appointed to the empty honor of Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1642. He was impeached by the House of Commons, and excepted from the Act of Oblivion. He fled to France and died at Calais the same year

in which his royal master lost his head. His son Edward, after the Restoration, was restored to the family estates.

The only effort of Sir Robert to procure settlers for his province across the Atlantic was the sending of a ship-load of Huguenots in 1630, but for some reason not known they were landed in Virginia. For this breach of contract the owners of the vessel, named the *Mayflower,* possibly the same which carried the Pilgrims to Plymouth, were made to pay about $3,000 damages.

Sir Robert Heath sold his interests in 1637 to Lord Maltravers, and by several assignments they were vested in Dr. Daniel Coxe, to whom, by way of compromise, after many years, was given a tract of 100,000 acres in Western New York. Early after the Restoration, however, the Heath patent was declared vacated and the territory, with the same name, was in 1663 granted to eight nobles, favorites of Charles II. It appears then that the "eponymous hero" of our State is Charles I., a much more worthy man than his son, debauched in morals and a traitor to his kingdom. The old story that the infamous Charles IX. of France was so honored is disproved by the fact that only the fort at Port Royal in 1562, and not the land, was called Carolina by the French emigrants.

Two years afterwards a new charter was issued to the same Lords Proprietors, including additional strips of land on the north and the south, practically from the Virginia line to about the middle of Florida.

The powers of these sub-kings were to be the same as exercised by the Bishop of Durham in his civil capacity. What were those powers? As in ancient Rome the King's mansion on the Palatine hill was called palatium, in the course of time "palatial" was equivalent to royal, and a County Palatine was one in which its chief lord had royal powers. These counties were on the borders of countries often hostile, and the lieutenant of the King must have extraordinary powers to meet dangerous emergencies. On the continent the German district bordering on France was called the Palatinate, and in England the Earl of Chester and Duke of Lancaster guarded the west and the Bishop of Durham the Scotch frontier. The Lords Proprietors, therefore, had *jura regalia,* or royal rights, the legislation, however, to be subject to the consent of the people.

We now describe the "Property Kings," as DeFoe called them, in the order in which they are mentioned in the two charters.

The first was the great Edward Hyde, Lord High Chancellor and until 1667 Prime Minister, though not then so called. He was the son of Henry Hyde of Wiltshire, born February 16, 1608, and was graduated at Oxford University. He became a lawyer, and his resolution to pursue steadily the dictates of his conscience on all public matters was strengthened by the earnest injunction of his father, who, while charging him never to sacrifice the laws and liberty of his country to his own interest, fell to the ground under a fatal stroke of apoplexy. Accordingly, as a member of

the Short and of the Long Parliaments which met in 1640, he condemned the iniquitous proceedings of the Star Chamber, High Commission Court, the Privy Council and the Council of the North, but opposed the bill of attainder of Strafford, though he did not record his vote against it. When Parliament began to raise the militia against the King and to deprive the Bishops of their votes in the House of Lords, his conservative temperament led him to take the royal side. He was soon knighted and was made Chancellor of the Exchequer and Privy Councillor. On the defeat of the King he retired with Prince Charles to Jersey. Here he began his History of the Great Rebellion, which, after many interruptions, was completed in 1673.

Notwithstanding his staunch churchmanship, which admitted no compromise with Roman Catholicism, he was a favorite with Queen Henrietta Maria, and in 1648 was called by her to Paris. He visited Spain as Ambassador to procure aid for Charles, but in vain. He then resided at Antwerp, constantly intriguing for the Restoration. He held the offices successively of Secretary of State and Lord High Chancellor in the little court of the exiled King. When the times were ripe for the Restoration he drew up the Declaration of Breda, and procured the royal assent to it, thus allaying the fears of a large majority of the people of England.

Honors fell thick and fast on Sir Edward Hyde. He retained his post of Lord Chancellor, was chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford, was created a peer as Baron Hyde of Hindon, and in 1661 received the titles of Lord

Cornbury and Earl of Clarendon. Moreover, the King entrusted to him the conduct of the government, in which he showed strong desire to be as moderate and prudent as was consistent with safety. What were considered by many as proofs of malignant hatred towards non-conformists, the so-called Clarendon Acts, namely, the Uniformity, Conventicle, Five Mile and Corporation Acts, were doubtless inspired largely by the fear lest the old soldiers who had once ruled the land might be re-embodied for another civil war. He was in the sunshine of the royal favor when he was named as first of the Proprietors of Carolina.

But the favor was evanescent. He lost the regard of the King and his male and female licentious associates. His severity of aspect excited their ridicule. He was called the royal school-master. As Charles and his wife had no children, the marriage of his oldest daughter Anne to the Duke of York brought his grandchildren near the succession to the throne, and this aroused envy at his grand fortune. His building a palace costing about $200,000 increased this envy, especially when the foul whisperings began that bribes for the sale of Dunkirk to the French had furnished the funds. A libelous song, called "Clarendon's House Warming," was everywhere sung. He was accused of sacrilege for using in the building of his mansion stones dressed originally for St. Paul's, and no credit was given to the explanation that he had honestly bought them. He was held responsible for the disasters of the Dutch war. The cavaliers were displeased that they did not get more favors from the government, the papists

and non-conformists, because their disabilities were not made lighter. The great Earl was removed from office, and, by the King's advice, retired to Rouen in France. Such was the popular hatred of him that he was set upon by some drunken English sailors at Evreux, treated with much cruelty and would have been slain but for the timely interference of their lieutenant.

Clarendon was an author of ability, his History of the Civil War being especially valuable for the delineation of the characters of the leading men of that important period. He married, first, Anne, daughter of Sir Gregory Ayloffe, who died without issue, and, secondly, Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. It is noticeable that he named his oldest daughter after his first wife, and two of her daughters, Mary and Anne, ascended the throne after the expulsion of their father. The Chancellor's two sons, Henry, Earl of Clarendon, and Lawrence, Earl of Rochester, were elevated to high office. Governor Edward Hyde of North Carolina, after whom a county is named, was probably a grandson.

The title of the noble earl is perpetuated by the name of a county in South Carolina. A large county under the provisions of the Fundamental Constitutions, with this name, stretching from the Cape Fear southwest, was projected but abandoned. Cape Fear river was once called Clarendon. The name is from Clarendon Park in Wiltshire, England, in the "New Forest," where the Plantagenets had a palatial hunting lodge. Here were sometimes held Great Councils,

which adopted weighty ordinances, those in the days of Henry II. being called Constitutions of Clarendon. The palace was about three miles from Salisbury.

The second named Proprietor was George Monk, or Monck, Duke of Albemarle, who had a very eventful life. He was a Devonshire man, younger son of a knight of slender fortune, Sir Thomas Monk. He volunteered to serve under Sir Richard Grenville against Spain, and speedily rose to the rank of captain in the war against France. He became a master in the military art, and, when the civil war broke out, took the side of the King. At first Colonel, he was appointed Brigadier-General in the Irish Brigade recently brought to England and engaged in the siege of Nantwich. He arrived just in time to be present in its surprisal and defeat by Sir Thomas Fairfax. He was confined in the Tower until November, 1646, when he subscribed to the Covenant and accepted service under the Parliament. He was faithful to the King until his armies were destroyed and he was a captive.

Monk was given by Parliament the command of their forces in the north of Ireland, with the rank of Major-General. Afterwards, as Lieutenant-General of Artillery, he served against the Scots, and when Cromwell pursued Charles II. to his defeat at Worcester, General Monk was left in Scotland as Commander-in-Chief. He was then joined as Admiral with Dean in the Dutch war, and, after Dean was killed in battle, continued the fight and gained the victory. Peace being declared, he was sent into the Highlands of Scotland to quell disturbances, which he effected in four months. He

resided in Scotland, near Edinburgh, for five years, and became so popular as to incur the suspicion of Cromwell, it is said, although created by him a member of the House of Lords. When the nation was ripe for the restoration of Charles to his kingdom, Monk effected it with consummate skill, for which he received many pensions and honors. He was made Knight of the Garter, a Privy Councillor, a Master of the Horse, Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp and Tees, Earl of Torrington, and Duke of Albemarle, with a grant of about $35,000 a year, besides other pensions. When he went up to the House of Lords all the members of the House of Commons escorted him to the door. His freedom from pride was observed by all. In the Dutch war of 1664 he was placed at the head of the Board of Admiralty, and during the great plague was entrusted with the care of London. The same year he was appointed Joint Admiral with Prince Rupert and displayed his usual bravery and energy, gaining a great victory off North Foreland. He was recalled to take charge of London after the great fire of 1666. Such was his hold on the affections of the people that he was hailed by the cry: "If you had been here, my lord, the city would not have been burned." He died in January, 1670, and was buried with distinguished honor in the chapel of Henry VII.

The title of the great Duke, Albemarle, was transferred to England from Normandy, corrupted from Aubemare Castle. In France it took the form of Aumale and was borne by a brilliant son of King Louis Philippe, the Duc d'Aumale. It gives to Virginia the name of a county and to North Caro-

lina a sound of the Atlantic and a county-seat. Monk's Corner in South Carolina may commemorate his family name. The great county of Albemarle, the first successful political organization in North Carolina, composed of the precincts of Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Chowan and Tyrrell, was abolished in 1738 and its precincts changed into counties.

The third named Proprietor was William, Earl of Craven, born in 1606. He was son and heir of Sir William Craven, Lord Mayor of London, whose career resembled that of the more ancient Dick Whittington. Coming to the great city from Yorkshire an humble apprentice, he rose to its highest office and amassed large wealth. His motto was *virtus in actione consistit,* and he lived up to it. Besides lending lavishly to the King when in need, he endowed a large school in his native town, Burnsall; was president of the great Christ Hospital in London and its munificent benefactor. His funeral was attended by five hundred mourners. His second son, John, Baron Craven, endowed two scholarships, one at Oxford and one at Cambridge University, which to this day educate an aspiring youth in each.

William Craven, the younger, was of an adventurous turn. At the age of seventeen he fought under the great Maurice, Stadtholder of Holland, and Frederick Henry, his successor. On his return to England in 1627 he was knighted and then made a Baron.

The beautiful Elizabeth, daughter of James I., married the Protestant Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate of the Rhine. The Protestants of Bohemia chose him the King of

that country, while the Catholic Emperor of Austria, Ferdinand II., disputed his claim. In the war that ensued Frederick lost both Bohemia and the Palatinate. His English father-in-law, notwithstanding strong pressure of his people, was slow and niggardly in aiding him. The Marquis of Hamilton with a small force was sent over, and Craven was one of his officers. At the capture of Creuznach he was the first to mount the breach, although wounded. He received a handsome compliment from the lips of the great Gustavus Adolphus, which may be freely translated: "Young man, you bid your younger brother have fair play for your estate." While he was a reckless fighter, his generosity had no limits. He gave $150,000 (in our day equal to half a million) to aid in fitting out a fleet commanded by Charles Lewis, elder brother of Prince Rupert, "an act said by many to savor of prodigality, by most of folly." The Protestant army was beaten and Craven was wounded and captured. To the titular Queen of Bohemia, after her defeat, he was munificent, advancing for her $100,000 at one time, and when the Parliament discontinued her allowance of $50,000 a year he supplied her needs out of his own funds. He was especially kind to her daughters, supplying them with jewelry, dresses and pocket-money, which they, among them Sophia, from whom comes the Hanoverian line of Kings of Great Britain, repaid with mirthful ridicule of "little Lord Craven." He resided in Elizabeth's mansion at The Hague, holding the office, then honorary, of Master of Horse. He is said to have privately married her, but of this there is no

evidence. He was a devoted royalist, and once supplied Charles II. with a loan of £50,000, the equivalent of about a million of dollars of our money. His property was confiscated by Parliament in 1649 because of his assistance to the royal cause, but restored at the accession of Charles II.

At the Restoration he received many honors. He was made Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex and Southwark, Colonel of the Cold Stream Guards of the Regular Army, and Lieutenant-General. He was also High Steward of Cambridge, and a Privy Councillor, and in 1664 created Viscount Craven of Uffington, and Earl Craven. When the so-called Queen of Bohemia returned to London, the Earl, seeing that the King, her nephew, delayed assigning her a residence, gave up to her his town mansion, Drury House, which he afterwards rebuilt on a grander scale and named Craven House. She died at Leicester House in 1662, leaving a tender memory by reason of her virtues and winning manners amid many trials, the ancestress of the good Queen Victoria. The constant devotion and generosity to her of the Earl of Craven are worthy of all praise, whether or not she rewarded him with a morganatic marriage. At her funeral he and his brother, Sir Robert, supported the heralds-at-arms in the procession. She bequeathed to him all her pictures and papers, which were preserved in his country mansion, Combe Abbey. The mutual friendship between him and her family continued to his death. In truth, it was believed by many that his love was given to her oldest daughter, Elizabeth, and the impossibility of marrying her led to his celibacy. His old com-

panion in arms, Prince Rupert, made him guardian of his illegitimate but acknowledged daughter, Ruperta.

During the great fire in London Earl Craven was very active in preserving order and extinguishing the flames. There is a curious story that ever afterwards the horse then ridden by him would smell fire at a great distance and could with difficulty be restrained from running to it at full speed.

In 1685 he was made Lieutenant-General under James II., and was charged with the protection of the palace of Whitehall. When William III. entered London in triumph the sturdy old soldier refused to surrender his post until he received orders from James. He survived the flight of his Stuart master only two years, spending his last days in building and landscape gardening and in the congenial companionship of the learned members of the Royal Society. It is fortunate that we have the memory of one so good and true perpetuated in the name of one of our counties.

The fourth Proprietor was John, Lord Berkeley, first Baron of Stratton, youngest son of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Somersetshire, a distant relative of the Earls of Berkeley, whose ancestors came to England with the Conqueror. He was an ardent member of the King's party, and was appointed Ambassador to Sweden. On his return in 1638 he was knighted, then a member of Parliament, but was expelled for conspiracy. He of course was a royalist in the civil war, distinguished himself under Hopton at Stratton, was Commander-in-Chief of Devonshire and captured Exeter. He was chosen to be present at the baptism of the child of Queen Henrietta

Maria in that city. He was beaten at Aylesbury, succeeded in taking Wellington House, was made Colonel-General of Devonshire and Cornwall and lost Exeter. He then escaped to Paris in the suite of the Queen, with whom he was a favorite. One of his foibles was an exaggerated belief in his power of influencing others. He was busy in acting as mediator between the King and Parliament, but effected nothing. He fled with the King and joined in the fatal counsel to surrender to Colonel Hammond, whom he expected to win to the royal cause. While Cromwell was supreme he served under Turenne in the war against Spain and Condé. In 1658 he was created, by Charles II., Baron Berkeley of Stratton, and was placed on the Admiralty Board. He was then made Lord President of Connaught in Ireland. After the Restoration he was appointed in the Privy Council. His London house, which cost $150,000, was burnt, and on its site is now the mansion of the Duke of Devonshire. He became the purchaser of Twickenham Park, and in 1670 received the great office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in which he favored the Roman Catholics as much as was in his power. In negotiating the important treaty of Nimuegen he was a commissioner on behalf of the English, together with Sir William Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins. He died August 26, 1678. His wife was Christian Riccard, described as being "of large dowry and yet larger graces and virtues."

Sir John Berkeley was a good soldier, faithful to his convictions, but with the defects of "vanity, want of tact, and ignorance of human nature." His oldest son, Charles, died

without issue and was succeeded by his brother, the second John, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1697, after distinguished naval services as Vice-Admiral of the Red, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and commander of the fleet.

The fifth Proprietor of Carolina was a man of varied fortunes, of commanding intellect, of winning manners, capable of great things, but of evil morals—Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, and Earl of Shaftesbury. He was born in 1621, the son of Sir John Cooper of Southampton county, and Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Ashley of Dorsetshire. He was very precocious and of a bold temper. When a boy at school he organized the younger boys and successfully resisted the vile custom of fagging. He entered Oxford at the age of fifteen, but did not graduate. He read law at Lincoln's Inn, with great ardor. He was, before reaching maturity, elected a member of Parliament and served throughout the civil war. At first he offered his services to the King, but finding himself out of sympathy with the haughty cavaliers, he joined the Parliament, and, accepting a commission, did some brilliant fighting. He was a member of the legislative body called the Barebones Parliament, and afterwards of the Parliament of 1654. He bitterly opposed the despotic government of Cromwell, but accepted the position of Privy Councillor under Richard Cromwell. Fearing the domination of the army, he was active in the restoration of Charles II., and being returned a member of the Convention Parliament, was appointed one of the twelve commissioners to bring over the King. While in Holland his carriage was over-

turned, by which he received a wound between the ribs which caused an incurable ulcer.

At the Restoration he was sworn a Privy Councillor, created Baron Ashley, and was one of the commissioners for the trial of the regicides. He was also made Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the commissioners for executing the office of High Treasurer. He was afterwards Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorset, and in 1672 created Baron Cooper and Earl of Shaftesbury, and the same year was elevated to the office of Lord High Chancellor. In this position, notwithstanding he had no experience as a practicing lawyer, he proved to be a very able officer, and in all respects impartial and just. He was from 1667 to 1673 a member of the Cabal ministry, and supported the King in his futile efforts to procure indulgence for non-conformists and Catholics. But he was utterly hostile to the ruin of Protestant Holland, to a close alliance with France, and to placing England under Catholic rule. He aided in procuring the passage of the Test Act, which drove Catholics from office and broke up the Cabal, for which he was dismissed from his Chancellorship. The King was forced to withdraw from the French alliance and end the Dutch war.

Shaftesbury was a leader in organizing the "Country Party," as opposed to the "Court Party," and which afterwards developed into the great Whig party. It is to the disgrace of his memory that he also fanned the hatred to the Catholics, especially the Duke of York, by countenancing the infamous perjuries of Oates and Dangerfield. He was made

President of the short-lived Council of thirty, organized under the advice of Sir William Temple. He procured the passage of the great muniment of liberty, the Habeas Corpus Act, which provided the judicial machinery by which unlawful imprisonment might be remedied. He was prominent in the endeavor to force through Parliament the bill for excluding Papists, including the Duke of York, from the throne, which, after passing the Commons, was defeated in the House of Lords. He then engaged in intrigues in favor of the Duke of Monmouth, a fatal step, because he thereby alienated the supporters of William and Mary of Orange, Mary being the heir presumptive, as the Duke of York had then no son. The people, too, had not lost their dread of civil war, and when Shaftesbury boasted of his power over his "brisk boys" of London, and embodied them for terrorizing the Court party, there was a reaction against him. This was increased by the growing conviction that innocent men had fallen victims to wholesale perjury. He was imprisoned in the Tower, invoking in vain his own Habeas Corpus Act, but was released by the grand jury of Middlesex ignoring the bill against him. The King then, by resort to his corrupt courts, succeeded in annulling the London charter, replacing it with a new charter, in which the Tories had control; whereupon Shaftesbury fled to Holland and died in a few months, in January, 1783. Dryden, the court poet, satirized him under the character of Achitophel:

"For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
Sagacious, bold and turbulent of wit:
Restless, unfixed in principles and place,
In power displeased, impatient of disgrace."

After the publication of the biting satire of Absalom and Achitophel, a vacant scholarship in the Charterhouse school, of which the Earl was Governor, was at his disposal. He bestowed it on Dryden's son without solicitation of any one. The poet was so moved that in a second edition he added a verse descriptive of the Earl as Lord Chancellor:

"In Israel's court never sat an Abethdin
With more discerning eyes or hands more clean,
Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of dispatch and easy of access."

Shaftesbury had many virtues and conspicuous vices. When not in hot pursuit of some object of ambition, or of revenge for fancied injury, he was honorable in his dealings, amiable and generous. When roused by ambition or resentment, he would resort to any measures, good or evil, necessary to attain his object. He had no religious principles, yet was a stout opponent of papacy for political reasons. He was incorruptible by money, yet was an unblushing libertine. It was to him that the King, who would both take liberties and bear them, in reference to Shaftesbury's amours, said: "I believe, Shaftesbury, thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions." With a low bow the Earl replied: "May it please your Majesty, of a subject I believe I am." The King laughed heartily.

The great author, John Locke, was his private secretary. He aided his patron in devising the elaborate but fantastic Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, whose conspicuous failure illustrates the great political truth that successful governments are the product of growth, not theory. The two rivers around Charleston in South Carolina, Ashley and Cooper, are named in his honor, and Currituck county was once called Shaftesbury precinct. The town which gave the title to his earldom has about two thousand five hundred inhabitants, is in Dorsetshire, England, and is the burial-place of King Canute and Edward the Martyr. It is generally called Shasbury, but locally Shaston.

The next named Proprietor is Sir George Carteret, Knight and Counsellor, Vice-Chamberlain of the royal household. He was of an ancient Norman family, which settled in Jersey and Guernsey. His father, Helier Carteret, at the time of his birth in 1599, was Deputy Governor of Jersey. He early entered the sea service, and by his skill and daring soon rose to be a captain. When twenty-seven years old he was appointed joint Governor with Lord Jermyn of Jersey and Comptroller of his Majesty's ships. He was so successful in procuring arms and ammunition for the Cornwall army that the King conferred on him the honor of Knight and a Baronet. He then returned to Jersey and ruled it so sternly that in all the fruitless negotiations with the King he was excepted from pardon. In 1646 he entertained most lavishly the Prince of Wales and his suite at his own expense, which was repeated three years afterwards. When Charles I. was

executed he undauntedly proclaimed Charles II. King, and held the island for two years against the forces of the Commonwealth. He had organized a little navy of small frigates and privateers, which gave his adversaries much annoyance. Such was his pluck that after the island was all lost except Elizabeth Castle, he fought stoutly behind its walls until the supply of provisions was exhausted, and being so instructed by Charles II., he lowered the last royal banner and made an honorable capitulation to Admiral Blake and General Holmes. Repairing to Paris, he angered Cromwell by organizing a plan to capture English vessels, and pressure was brought on Cardinal Mazarin, then governing France, to induce him to imprison Carteret in the Bastile. After his release he joined Charles II. at Brussels and then at Breda. At the Restoration he rode with the King in his triumphant entry into London. He was made Vice-Chamberlain, Privy Councillor and Treasurer of the Navy, and was an active member of the House of Commons. He was also, after the resignation by the Duke of York of the office of High Admiral, made one of the Commissioners of Admiralty. Afterwards he was a Lord of the Committee of Trade and Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. While the King was preparing to confer a peerage on him he died, in 1679, and, in recognition of his great services, the King authorized his widow and youngest children to "enjoy their precedency and pre-eminency as if Sir George had actually been created a Baron."

Besides being a Lord Proprietor of Carolina, Sir George Carteret and John, Lord Berkeley, were, by the gift of the

Duke of York, Proprietors of New Jersey, so called in recognition of the gallant defense of the Island of Jersey.

The wife of Sir George Carteret was a daughter of his uncle, Sir Philip Carteret. She was a noble woman. When, on a visit to London, she saw the vileness of the society about the court, she at once turned her back on its wickedness and retired to the purer air of her Channel island. Her name, Elizabeth, was given to a flourishing city in New Jersey. Their oldest son, Philip, was a brilliant soldier for the King in the civil war. He married Jemima, daughter of the illustrious Edward Montague, the first Earl of Sandwich, and served under him in the Dutch war. In the great sea fight in 1672, in Southwold Bay (Solbay), he refused to desert his father-in-law's ship and died with him. His eldest son, Lord George Carteret, married Grace, daughter of John Granville, Earl of Bath, and was the father of Sir John Carteret, Earl of Granville.

Sir George Carteret was a strong, true, brave man, loyal to his convictions through all vicissitudes.

The seventh Proprietor was Sir John Colleton, Knight and Baronet. He was a valiant fighter for the King in the civil war, reaching the rank of colonel of a regiment, which he raised in ten days. He expended out of his own means $200,000, and lost more than this amount by sequestration. After the ruin of the royal cause he emigrated to Barbadoes, and for some time aided in keeping the island true to the King. At the Restoration he received the honor of knighthood. He did not live long after the second charter was

granted, dying in 1666, the first of all his co-Proprietors, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Peter. Another son, Thomas, was a prominent merchant of Barbadoes and aided in the settlement of South Carolina. Still another son was Governor of Carolina in 1686. A sea-coast county south of Charleston and an obscure post-office in North Carolina perpetuate the name of the gallant soldier and munificent royalist, the seventh Lord Proprietor.

The last named Lord Proprietor was Sir William Berkeley, a younger brother of John, Lord Berkeley. He obtained the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford University, and, after traveling on the continent, became an officer in the household of King Charles I. He became a devotee of the muses, publishing a tragi-comedy called "The Lost Lady." He was sent to Virginia as Governor in 1641, and during the civil war kept his province so loyal to the King that it gained the title of "Old Dominion." After the execution of the King he offered Charles II. an asylum in the wilds of the new world. When forced to surrender to the power of the Commonwealth he lost his office but was permitted to reside in Virginia. At the Restoration he was again made Governor. As he became older he became stern and severe, writing to Lord Arlington in 1667 that age and infirmities had withered his desires and hopes. He suppressed the "Bacon Rebellion" with cruelty, the first Governor of the Albemarle country, William Drummond, being one of his victims. The oft-quoted saying of Charles II., "The old fool has taken more lives in that naked country than I for the murder of my father," is accepted as

authentic. A royal proclamation was issued censuring his conduct. He was of autocratic temper. He allowed no criticism of his conduct. His opponents charged that he was too fond of gain—that he refused to fight with hostile Indians because war interfered with a profitable fur trade in which he had a pecuniary interest. After the collapse of the rebellion he returned to England, was refused an audience with the King, and his brother, John, Lord Berkeley, stated that the insult contributed to his death in 1677. He was entombed, as we see in Haywood's excellent history of Governor William Tryon of North Carolina, in a vault in a church in Twickenham, about twelve miles from London. In an adjoining church are the tombs of Governor and Lady Margaret Tryon, his wife. It is remarkable that when his vault was opened the body of Sir William Berkeley was not in a coffin but enclosed in lead beaten into the shape of his body, showing the form of his features, hands, feet, and even nails. This is stated on the authority of Cobbett's Memorials of Twickenham.

Notwithstanding that in his old age his rage at being ignominiously driven from Jamestown, his capital, and at its destruction by fire by the forces of Bacon, drove him to what in our age is considered unnecessary cruelty, Berkeley had many good qualities. Governor Ludwell wrote of him: "He was pious and exemplary, sober in conversation, prudent and just in peace, diligent and valiant in war." The honor of knighthood was bestowed on him for his success in subduing the Indians. His hatred of Quakers was in accord-

ance with the ideas of his age, because they revolted against all church establishments, and the Church was part of the State. The laws recommended by him were as a rule wise and just. For a short while, under appointment of the Lords Proprietors, he was placed in charge of the inhabitants of the Albemarle country, and there was no complaint of his administration. In distrusting public schools and the printing press he was not behind his age. "Freedom of the press" in England did not exist until about twenty years after he wrote his thanks that Virginia was free from that pest. He never lost his taste for polite literature. In his desk was found the manuscript of an unpublished play called "Cornelia."

Sir William had little relationship to the Earls of Berkeley, the owners of the famous Berkeley Castle, where Edward II. was imprisoned and slain. They were of the Fitzhardinge family. The name in North Carolina was given to a precinct of Albemarle county, afterwards Perquimans. Bishop-elect Pettigrew, grandfather of General J. J. Pettigrew, wrote about "old Barkley," as the name was pronounced in old times, about a hundred years ago. The brothers, John and William, were likewise honored by the name of counties in South Carolina and West Virginia.

Under the Fundamental Constitutions the Proprietors were to organize a Palatine's court. The Duke of Albemarle was, on 21st October, 1669, elected the first Palatine, the highest officer, and afterwards, in order, John, Lord Berkeley; Sir George Carteret; William, Earl of Craven; John, Earl of

Bath; John, Lord Granville; William, Lord Craven; Henry, Duke of Beaufort; John, Lord Carteret, the last beginning August 10, 1714.

The devolution of the shares of the eight Lords Proprietors will now be traced, a task made easy by the researches of Mr. McCrady, as will be seen in the twelfth chapter of his "South Carolina under the Proprietary Government."

Clarendon's share was, after his exile and until his death, in 1674, represented by his oldest son, Henry, Lord Cornbury, who succeeded his father as second Earl of Clarendon. He sold it to Seth Southwell, pronounced and generally written Sothel, in 1681. On his death, in 1694, by virtue of the provisions of the Fundamental Constitutions, the other Proprietors sequestered his share and assigned it to Thomas Amy, who had been an active agent in inducing settlers to emigrate to Carolina. Amy gave it to Nicholas Trott, who married Amy's daughter. Under the decree of the Court in Chancery, this share, and also that which once belonged to Sir William Berkeley, was sold, the two bringing about $4,500, to Hugh Watson as trustee of Henry and James Bertie. Clarendon's share was allotted to "Honorable James Bertie."

The Duke of Albemarle, by his wife, Anne, daughter of John Clarges, a farrier, left Christopher, a son, who died in 1688 without issue. John Granville, Earl of Bath, who acquired his share, died in 1701, and was succeeded by his son, John, Lord Granville. Afterwards, in 1709, Somerset, the Duke of Beaufort,, acquired the share and devised it to James Bertie and Doddington Greville, trustees for his sons,

Henry Somerset, second Duke of Beaufort, and Charles Noel Somerset, a minor.

The Earl of Craven died in 1687 without issue, and William, Lord Craven, his grand-nephew, succeeded him, and left as his sucessor William, Lord Craven, his son.

John, Lord Berkeley's, share descended to his son, Charles, who died without issue, and then to his second son, John, an admiral of great merit, who died at sea. As he failed to pay his quota according to agreement he forfeited his share to the other Proprietors, who sold it to Joseph Blake, the elder. On his death his son, of the same name, succeeded to his rights.

The Earl of Shaftesbury died in exile in 1679 and was succeeded by his son, Anthony Ashley, the second Earl, who died in 1699 and was succeeded by the third Earl of the same name. The share afterwards vested in his brother, Maurice, and after his death in Archibald Hutcheson, trustee for John Cotton. It appears from the Act of Surrender that Sir John Tyrrell was likewise once owner of this proprietorship.

The share of Sir George Carteret descended in 1672 to his grandson of the same name, who married Grace, daughter of John Granville, Earl of Bath. After his death in 1695 he was succeeded by his minor son, John, Lord Carteret. Until the maturity of this son his share was represented by his grandfather, the Earl of Bath.

Sir John Colleton's share descended in 1666 to his son, Sir Peter, who died in 1694, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John Colleton, then under age.

There was much dispute about Sir William Berkeley's share. He devised it, in 1677, to his widow, who had been the wife of Governor Samuel Stevens, and who afterwards married Governor Philip Ludwell. Before the latter marriage, however, she sold it, in 1681, to Thomas Archdale, son of John Archdale. After her marriage she and her husband conveyed it again, in 1682, this time to Thomas Amy, in trust for four Proprietors, Albemarle, Carteret, Craven and Colleton. In 1697 these four, or their successors, requested William Thornburg to take the place of Amy, which was done, although Amy had the legal title, and in 1705 sold it to John Archdale. Archdale conveyed it to John Danson. Litigation ensued, resulting in the sale of this share, together with that of Clarendon, to Hugh Watson, as trustee for Henry and James Bertie, as has been explained heretofore.

After over sixty years of careless, neglectful and ever bad government by the Lords Proprietors, having received little profit, the owners of seven of the shares determined to sell all their interests to the Crown for £2,500 each, and £500 each for arrears of rent due by those who had purchased land from them. The sale was perfected by act of Parliament in the second year of King George II., A. D. 1729, entitled "An act for establishing an agreement with seven of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina for the surrender of their title and interest in that province to his Majesty." In this the grantors and their interests are thus described: The part, share, interest and estate of the Earl of Clarendon is vested in Honorable James Bertie of the county of Middlesex; that of the Duke of

Albemarle in Henry, Duke of Beaufort, and the said James Bertie, and Honorable Doddington Greville of the county of Wiltz, devisees of the late Duke of Beaufort, in trust for the present Duke of Beaufort and his infant brother, Charles Noell Somerset; that of the Earl of Craven in the present William, Earl of Craven; that of John, Lord Berkeley, in Joseph Blake of the province of South Carolina; that of Lord Ashley (Earl Shaftesbury) in Archibald Hutcheson of the Middle Temple, London, in trust for John Cotton of the Middle Temple; that of the late Sir John Colleton in the present Sir John Colleton of Exmouth of the county of Devon; that of Sir William Berkeley in the Honorable Henry Bertie of the county of Bucks, Esquire, or in Mary Danson of the county of Middlesex, widow, or in Elizabeth Moor of London, widow, some or one of them. It thus appears that the share of the doughty warrior, Sir William Berkeley, gave as much trouble to the lawyers as he did to the followers of Bacon.

John, Lord Carteret, refused to surrender his share, but became tenant in common with the King, owning one-eighth undivided interest. The right of government was, however, conceded to the Crown.

Some of the successors to the first Lords Proprietors deserve special notice.

Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, the second Earl of Clarendon, was son of the great Earl and brother-in-law of James II. He was elevated to the office of Lord Privy Seal in 1685, and then of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Being, like

his father, a staunch member of the Church of England, he surrendered all his opportunities for greatness by refusing to aid James II. in putting England under Roman Catholicism. He was dismissed from all his offices. He intrigued, however, for the restoration of James, and was thrown for awhile into the Tower by William III. He never held office afterwards.

Southwell (Sothel) was of excellent family, came to the Albemarle country, was made Governor, but behaved so nefariously that he was banished by the Assembly. He then was Governor of Carolina 1690-'91 by virtue of his Proprietorship, and displayed much executive ability, as Mr. McCrady shows.

Nicholas Trott was probably father of the very able but rather unprincipled Chief Justice of Carolina of the same name.

Henry and James Bertie were of noble blood, near relatives, probably sons, of the Earl of Abingdon.

John Granville, Earl of Bath, was succeeded by his son, John, Lord Granville, in 1701, who was a strong Churchman, and as Palatine endeavored ineffectually to exclude from the Legislature all except members of the Church of England. He must not be confounded with John, Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville, son of his sister, Lady Grace, wife of the second Sir George Carteret.

Henry Somerset, first Duke of Beaufort, was a royalist in the civil war, but after the death of Charles I. retained good relations with Cromwell. He was made Marquis of Worcester and Privy Councillor, and afterwards Duke of Beaufort.

He was descended from Edward III., through John of Gaunt, and lived in most princely style. Two hundred people were feasted at his nine tables every day.

Lord John Tyrrel is said to have been a lineal descendant of the Walter Tyrrel who was accused of shooting King William Rufus.

The second Earl of Shaftesbury was of no force. The third was a distinguished scholar, and author of "Characteristics."

Joseph Blake was probably of the family of one of England's most eminent and worthy seamen, Robert Blake. He was Governor of Carolina in 1694 for a few months, and Deputy Governor under Archdale in 1696 to his death in 1700. The surrender to the Crown was made by his son of the same name.

John Archdale was appointed by the Proprietors Governor of Carolina in 1694 and continued actively in office for two years. He published a book entitled "A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina, with a Brief Account of its Discovery and Settling, and the Government thereof to the Time, with several Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence during my Time. By John Archdale, late Governor of the same. London. Printed in 1707." It is not of much value. His Quaker principles did not prevent his acceptance of a barony of 48,000 acres and the titles of Landgrave and Governor. He was diligent in his office and a good man of business. The laws which were passed at his instance appear to have been wise. Some of his posterity are citizens of North Carolina, descended from his daughter Ann,

who married Emmanuel Lowe. Among them was the wife of William Hill, for many years Secretary of State.

The most conspicuous of the later Proprietors was John, Lord Carteret, who, on the death of his mother, Grace, Viscountess of Carteret and Countess of Granville, in 1744, became Earl of Granville and Viscount Carteret.

He was a man of brilliant talents and varied acquirements. His knowledge of the classics was so extensive and thorough that Dean Swift said that he carried away from Oxford more Greek, Latin and philosophy than properly became a person of his rank. He was distinguished for his brilliant speeches in behalf of Whig doctrines and the Hanoverian dynasty. He was thoroughly versed in the history of Europe and the political questions of his day. As Ambassador to Sweden in 1719, Secretary of State in 1721 and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1724-'30, he had eminent success. He joined the party opposed to Walpole, consisting of William Pitt, Pulteney and others, and was for ten years a thorn in his side. On Walpole's fall, in 1742, he became again Secretary of State under Lord Wilmington, but resigned in 1744. Two years later he was offered the chief place in the ministry, but was unable to form a government able to command a majority in the House of Commons. In 1751 he was President of the Privy Council, and so continued until his death in 1763.

The greatness of Earl Granville was marred by want of steadiness of purpose, the consequence of deep drinking, a vice carried away from Oxford with his Greek and Latin

and practiced ever afterward. Chesterfield says that he "made himself master of all the modern languages. * * His character may be summed up in nice precision, quick decision and unbounded presumption." He professed to be a good Churchman, but looked on Chrisianity merely as a civil institution. For example, he was opposed to the conversion of negroes because they would not be obedient slaves, and argued that it would be a calamity to the fish interests of England for the Pope and Italians generally to become Protestants. He deprecated higher learning in the colonies because it would fill the minds of the youth with notions of independence.

Earl Granville married Frances, only daughter of Sir Robert Worsley, by whom he had three sons and five daughters, and after her death, Lady Sophia, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Pomfret, by whom he had one daughter.

His refusal to sell his share to the Crown could not have been caused by financial considerations, as he was notoriously contemptuous of money. The distinction of being lord of a territory as large as England probably fascinated him.

Probably because he was opposed to the Prime Minister, Walpole, his share was not laid off in severalty to him until 1744, after he succeeded to the Earldom, when he was a member of the Government as Secretary of State. To him was allotted in severalty all the territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, from the latitude of 35° 34′ to the Virginia line, excepting, of course, what had been already sold. This princely domain was confiscated at the Revolution.

After the Treaty of Peace and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States his heirs brought a test suit in the Circuit Court against William Richardson Davie and Josiah Collins for the establishment of their title. They failed and the appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States was dropped. It is said that they received from the British Government compensation amounting to about $250,000.

REFERENCES:—Dictionary of National Biography; Chalmers' Dictionary of Biography; English Histories; Haywood's Life of Tryon; McCrady's History of South Carolina; North Carolina Colonial Records; Second Revised Statutes.

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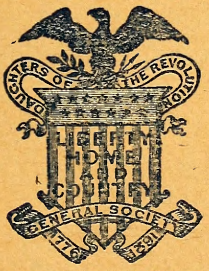
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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

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THE BATTLE OF RAMSAUR'S MILL.

JUNE 20, 1780.

BY WILLIAM A. GRAHAM,

(Major on Staff of Adjutant General of North Carolina).

Sir Henry Clinton, after the surrender of Charleston in May, 1780, regarded the Royal authority as restored in Georgia and South Carolina, and, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command with a force, which was regarded, with the anticipated re-inforcements from friends in upper South Carolina and North Carolina, as sufficient to subdue North Carolina, sailed with his main army to New York.

Lord Cornwallis' plan of campaign was to move with the main body of Regulars by a central route through Charlotte and Salisbury, and to send a small force under a competent commander to his right to organize his friends in the upper Cape Fear section, and another force to his left to embody the adherents of Britain in upper South Carolina and in Tryon County; to re-inforce his main army and also to protect his outposts from the attacks of McDowell, Cleavland and others aided by the "over the mountain men," as those beyond the Blue Ridge were called. The crops of the previous year being consumed, he delayed his movement until that of 1780 could be harvested and threshed. The section around Ramsaur's Mill was then, as it is now, very fine for wheat. He sent

Colonel John Moore into this country to inform the people that he was coming and would reward and protect the loyal, but would inflict dire punishment upon his opponents; for them to secure the wheat crop and be in readiness, but to make no organization until he should direct.

THE TORIES.

Moore had gone from this section and joined the British army some time previous and had been made Lieutenant-Colonel of Hamilton's Tory regiment. He had been an active Tory and committed many depredations upon the Whigs before his departure, and is especially named with others in Laws of 1779, chapter 2, and of 1782, chapter 6, as one whose property was to be confiscated. In those days there were no post-offices or country stores for the congregating of the people. The flouring mills were the points of assembling, and the roads usually named for the mills to which they led.

Derick Ramsaur, who was among the first German (generally called Dutch) emigrants to Tryon County, erected his mill prior to 1770 on the west bank of Clark's Creek, where the Morganton road bridge at Lincolnton now spans the stream.

The German population in North Carolina, who mostly came here from Pennsylvania, were, during the Revolutionary war, generally favorable to Great Britain. Some have attributed this to the fact that the "reigning" family (Brunswick) was German and that George was King of Hanover as well as of Great Britain. However this may have been

in the Revolution, it does not seem to have been in evidence during the Regulation troubles. After the battle of Alamance, Governor Tryon wrote the Secretary of State that the counties of Mecklenburg, Tryon and western Rowan beyond Yadkin were contemplating hostilities and that he had sent General Wadell with the militia of those counties and some other troops to require the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance. One of the points at which they were assembled for this purpose was Ramsaur's Mill. This would hardly have been the case if the people of this region had not been in sympathy with the Regulators. Having taken the oath of allegiance to King George, it was not strange that they should have felt inclined to regard its obligations, especially when those who were urging them to take up arms against the King were the very men who had administered the oath to them. General Rutherford, Colonel Neal, Captains Alexander, Shaw and others were at that time officers of the militia. They had sympathized with the Regulators on account of common wrongs and oppressions which they suffered, and knew what the evils were which they wished remedied. Now the cause of action is taxation, about which they had little interest and perhaps less knowledge. The Germans, as a race, are a confiding, trusting people to those in whom they have confidence and who act candidly with them, but they seldom live long enough to forgive any one who deceives them or who acts so as to forfeit their confidence. At this time the cause of America was in a depressed state, and many loyal hearts lost hope. It is not improbable that

at least some of these people anticipated with pleasure the time they should behold Griffith Rutherford and his comrades with bared heads and uplifted hands affirming their loyalty to King George and repeating the *role* they had compelled them to act in 1771; at any rate, they were not inclined at their behest to violate the oath they had forced them to swear. The friends of Britain in Tryon County were not confined to the Germans; there were probably as large a per cent. of the English Tories. Neither Moore nor Welch were German. Colonel Moore returned to the vicinity and appointed a meeting for June 10th at his father's (Moses Moore) residence on Indian Creek, seven miles from Ramsaur's. The place of the "Tory Camp" is still pointed out, and is on the Gaston side of the county line on the plantation which was owned by the late Captain John H. Roberts. Forty men met him on that day. He delivered Lord Cornwallis' message, but before they dispersed a messenger informed them that Major Joseph McDowell (who was one of the most ubiquitous officers of the North Carolina militia during the Revolution) was in the neighborhood endeavoring to capture some of the men who were present. Moore, having a force double in number to that of McDowell, sought him and followed him to South Mountains, but did not overtake him. He then dismissed the men with directions to meet at Ramsaur's Mill on the 13th of the month. About two hundred assembled. Nicholas Welch, who had lived just above Moore on Indian Creek, went from this vicinity eighteen months prior to this and joined the British army. He appeared dressed in a new uniform

and exhibiting a considerable quantity of gold coins, representing himself as Major of Hamilton's Regiment. He urged the men to embody at once, telling of the fall of Charleston, Buford's defeat and the bad condition of affairs for the Americans everywhere. By his narratives and judicious use of his guineas he prevailed over Moore and it was determined to organize at once. Eleven hundred men had assembled at Ramsaur's, to which Captains Murray and Whitson of Lower Creek, Burke (Caldwell) County, added two hundred on the 18th. Colonel Moore, although the embodying was contrary to his advice, assumed command. He led a force to capture Colonel Hugh Brevard and Major Jo. McDowell, who came into the vicinity with a small company of Whigs, but they evaded him. On the 19th, with his command of thirteen hundred men, he occupied a ridge three hundred yards east of the mill and which extended east from the road leading from Tuckasegee Ford to Ramsaur's Mill, where it joined the road from Sherrill's Ford, and placed his outposts and pickets in advance, the pickets being six hundred yards from the main force, and upon the Tuskasegee Road. The ridge had a gentle slope and was open, except a few trees, for two hundred yards; its foot was bounded by a glade, the side of which was covered with bushes. The glade was between the Tuckasegee and Sherrill's Ford Roads.

THE WHIGS.

General Rutherford, learning of the advance of Lord Rawdon to Waxhaw Creek, ordered a portion of his command, the militia of the Salisbury District, Rowan, Mecklenburg and

Tryon Counties, into service for a tour of three months. This force rendezvoused at Reese's plantation, eighteen miles northeast of Charlotte, June 12th. Learning that the British had returned to Hanging Rock, General Rutherford advanced ten miles to Mallard Creek, and on the 14th organized his forces for the campaign. This point on Mallard Creek is several times mentioned in Revolutionary papers as occupied by Whig forces. Hearing that the Tories were embodying in Tryon County, he ordered Colonel Francis Locke, of Rowan, and Major David Wilson, of Mecklenburg, to raise a force in northern Mecklenburg and west Rowan to disperse the Tories, as he did not think his present force could undertake this task until Lord Rawdon's intentions were developed. On the 18th Major Wilson, with sixty-five men, among whom were Captains Patrick Knox and William Smith, crossed the Catawba at Toole's Ford, about fourteen miles from Charlotte, near where Moore's Ferry was for many years and Allison's Ferry is now. The ford has been seldom used since 1865, and has been abandoned as a crossing for many years. It is three miles below Cowan's Ford. Taking the Beattie's Ford Road, he soon met Major Jo. McDowell with twenty-five men, among whom were Captain Daniel McKissick and John Bowman. Major McDowell, who had been moving about the country awaiting re-inforcements, probably informed him of the position occupied by the Tories. These troops, in order to unite with the forces being raised by Colonel Locke, kept the road up the river, passing Beattie's Ford, and three miles above, Captains Falls, Houston, Torrence,

Reid and Caldwell, who had crossed at McEwen's Ford with forty men, joined them. McEwen's Ford was near where McConnell's Ferry was, up to 1870, but both ford and ferry have long been abandoned.

Marching the road that is now the Newton Road, past Fleming's Cross Roads, they camped on Mountain Creek at a place called the "Glades," sixteen miles from Ramsaur's. Here, on the 19th, they received additional forces under Colonel Locke, amounting to two hundred and seventy men, among whom were Captains Brandon, Sharpe, William Alexander, Smith, Dobson, Sloan and Hardin. Colonel Locke had collected most of this force as he proceeded up the river and had crossed with them at Sherrill's Ford, which is used to this day, and where General Morgan crossed the following January. The whole force now amounted to about four hundred—McDowell's, Fall's and Brandon's men (perhaps one hundred) being mounted. A council of war was convened to determine plan for action. The proximity of the Tories and the small number of the Whigs made it necessary for quick movement, as the Tories would probably move against them as soon as they learned the true condition. Some proposed to cross the river at Sherrill's Ford, six miles in the rear, and to hold it against the Tories. It was replied to this that a retreat would embolden the Tories and that the re-inforcement to the Tories, who already outnumbered them three to one, would probably be greater than to them. Then it was suggested to move down the river to join Rutherford, who was about forty-five miles distant. It was objected to

this that nearly all the serviceable Whigs of this section were with them or Rutherford, and this would leave their families unprotected and exposed to pillage by the Tories; also the Tories might be in motion and they encounter them on the march. Then came the insinuation that these suggestions came from fear, or at least from unwillingness to meet the Tories, and a proposition to march during the night and attack the Tories early next morning, as they would be ignorant of their numbers and could be easily routed. This had the usual effect; not many soldiers or other people can stand an imputation of cowardice. So this plan was adopted. Colonel James Johnston, who lived in Tryon (Gaston) County near Toole's Ford, and who had joined Major Wilson when he crossed the river, was dispatched to inform General Rutherford of their action. Late in the evening they marched down the south side of Anderson's Mountain, and taking the "State" Road, stopped at the Mountain Spring to arrange a plan of battle. It was agreed that Brandon's, Fall's and McDowell's men, being mounted, should open the attack, the footmen to follow, and every man, without awaiting orders, govern himself as developments might make necessary as the fight proceeded. The British having retired to Camden, General Rutherford determined to give his attention to Colonel Moore, On the 18th of June he marched to Tuckasegee Ford, twelve miles from Charlotte and twenty miles from Ramsaur's. He dispatched a message to Colonel Locke, directing him to meet him with his command at General Joseph Dickson's, three miles from Tuckasegee (and where Mr. Ural M. Johnston,

a great grandson of James Johnston, now lives), on the evening of the 19th or morning of the 20th. That afternoon he moved to the Dickson place. The morning of the 19th was wet, and fearing the arms might be out of condition, at midday, when it cleared off, he ordered them to be discharged and examined. The firing was heard in the adjacent county; the people thinking that the enemy were endeavoring to cross the river, volunteers came to re-inforce the Whigs. At the Catawba, Colonel William Graham, with the Lincoln County Regiment, united with General Rutherford, whose command now numbered twelve hundred. Colonel Johnston reached General Rutherford about ten o'clock at night, who, thinking his courier had informed Colonel Locke, waited until early next morning before moving, when he marched for Ramsaur's.

THE BATTLE.

Leaving the mountain, Colonel Locke's force would follow the "State" Road until they came into what is now Buffalo Shoal Road, then into Sherrill's Ford Road as it ran to Ramsaur's Mill. A mile from the mill they were met by Adam Reep with a small company, perhaps twenty. Reep was a noted Whig, and although his neighbors generally were loyal to King George, he was leader of a few patriots who were always ready to answer his call to arms. The story which tradition tells of his acts would make a base for a fine narrative of Revolutionary times. He gave full account of the Tory position, and further arrangements were made as to plan of attack. There are two roads mentioned in General Gra-

ham's account of this battle in "General Joseph Graham and his Revolutionary Papers." He speaks of *the* road, *i. e.,* Tuckasegee Road, and *this* road, *i. e.,* the old or Sherrill's Ford Road, the track of which is still visible. They united at the western end of the ridge and just beyond the glade. The road at the right of the Tory position is now a cut eight feet or more deep; then it was on top of the ground. The Tories were on the right of the cavalry, who came the old road, and left of the infantry, who came the Tuckasegee Road—the center of the line being between the attacking parties. There seems to have been three attacking parties: First, mounted men, probably under McDowell, on the old road; second, mainly infantry, under Locke, on the Tuckasegee Road, upon which the Tory picket was placed, near where the Burton residence is now; third, Captain Hardin, who came over the hill where Lincolnton now stands, then through the ravine near McLoud's house and gained position on the right flank of the Tories.

The central party was formed, cavalry in front, infantry in two ranks in the rear—they moved by flank. The cavalry discovering the picket, chased them to camp. McDowell's men had pushed on and reached the enemy about the same time, and both parties, leaving the road, rode up within thirty steps of the enemy and opened fire. The enemy were considerably demoralized at first, but seeing so few (not over one hundred) in the attacking party, rallied and poured such a volley into them that they retired through the infantry, some of whom joined them and never returned. Most of the cavalry re-

formed and returned to the contest. Captain Bowman had been killed. Captain Falls, being mortally wounded, rode some two hundred yards and fell dead from his horse where the Sherrill's Ford Road turned down the hill. This spot is still noted. The infantry, nothing daunted, pushed forward, and, coming to the end of the glade, began to form by what is now called "by the right, front into line," and to open fire as each man came into position. The six hundred yards pursuit had much disorganized their line. The Tories advanced down the hill and endeavored to disperse them before they could form. As the Whigs came on they filled gaps and extended the line to their right and made it so hot that the enemy retreated to the top of the hill and a little beyond, so as to partly protect their bodies. The Whigs pursued them, but the fire was so deadly and their loss so heavy that they in turn retreated down the hill to the bushes at the edge of the glade.

The Tories again advanced half way down the ridge. In the midst of the fight at this time Captain Hardin arrived at his position behind the fence on the right flank of the Tories and opened fire. Captain Sharpe had extended the line until he turned the left of the enemy, and his company began firing from that direction (about where Mr. Roseman's barn now stands). The Tories, hard pressed in front, fell back to the top of the ridge, and, finding that they were still exposed to Hardin's fire on the right, as well as to that of Sharpe on the left, broke and fled down the hill and across the creek, many being shot as they ran.

When the Whigs gained the hill they saw quite a force of

the enemy over the creek near the mill and supposed the attack would be renewed. Forming line, they could only master eighty-six, and after earnest exertions only one hundred and ten could be paraded. Major Wilson and Captain William Alexander, of Rowan, were dispatched to hurry General Rutherford forward; they met his forces about where Salem Baptist Church now stands, six and a half miles from Lincolnton, on the old narrow-gauge railroad; Davie's Cavalry was started at a gallop and the infantry at quick-step. Within two miles they met men from the field, who told them the result. When the battle began the Tories who had no arms went across the creek. Captain Murray was killed early in the action; his and Whitson's men immediately followed. Colonel Moore made his headquarters behind a locust-tree near the road. Upon his right flank becoming exposed to the galling fire of Hardin, he did not wait to see the end, and was joined by Major Welch in his change of base.

Captain Sharpe's men, in deploying to the right, went beyond the crest of the ridge (below the present Roseman barn). Here, exposed to the deadly aim of the enemy's rifles, they advanced from tree to tree until they obtained a position enfilading the enemy, and with unerring aim picked off their boldest officers. Captain Sharpe's brother placed his gun against a tree to "draw a bead" on a Tory captain; his arm was broken by a shot from the enemy and his gun fell to the ground. A well-directed shot from the Captain felled the Tory captain and contributed much to the speedy termination of the battle. General Graham says that at this end of the

Tory line "one tree at the root of which two brothers lay dead was grazed by three balls on one side and two on the other." Colonel Moore, fearing pursuit, sent a flag of truce to propose suspension of hostilities to bury the dead and care for the wounded; but ordered all footmen and poorly-mounted men to leave for home at once. Colonel Locke, not wishing the enemy to discover the paucity of his forces, sent Major James Rutherford (a son of the General, and who was killed at Eutaw) to meet the flag. In answer to the request of Moore, he demanded surrender in ten minutes; the flag returned, when Moore and the fifty who remained with him immediately fled. Moore reached Cornwallis with about thirty followers, was put under arrest, threatened with court-martial for disobedience of orders, but was finally released.

In some instances this was a fight between neighbors and kindred, although there were not many Whigs in the Lincoln forces—the militia of the county being with Colonel Graham, who was with Rutherford.

In the thickest of the fight a Dutch Tory, seeing an acquaintance, said: "How do you do, Pilly? I have knowed you since you was a little poy, and never knew no harm of you except you was a rebel." Billy, who was out for business and not to renew acquaintance, as his gun was empty, clubbed it and made a pass at his friend's head, who dodged and said: "Stop! Stop! I am not going to stand still and be killed like a damn fool, needer," and immediately made a lick at Billy's head, which he dodged. A friend of Billy whose gun was loaded put it to the Dutchman's side and shot him dead.

Captain McKissick, who was shot through the shoulder early in the action, went over towards Lincolnton *en route* to a friend's. He met Abram Keener, a Tory captain, but personal friend, with ten companions, who had been to a neighboring farm, and were returning to camp. His companions would have treated Captain McKissick badly, probably killed him; but Keener took him prisoner and protected him. On reaching the camp, and seeing a good many strange faces with his acquaintances, who were prisoners, Keener said: "Hey, poys, you seem to have a good many prisoners." The Whigs, by his speech, knew he was a Tory, and were going to shoot him and his companions, but Captain McKissick interfered, and by earnest appeal saved their lives.

Adam Reep, as part of the history of the battle, was accustomed to tell that the Tories took all his cattle, including his bull, and drove them to their camp; that when the firing began the Tories soon began to pass his house, which was some three miles away, and it was not long before "old John" appeared in the procession bellowing: "Lib-er-ty! Lib-er-ty!! Lib-er-ty!!!"

There was no official report of the battle, consequently the exact number of casualties was never known. The badge of the Tories was a green pine twig in the hat. In the heat of battle some of these would fall out and others were thrown away, so that it could not be told to which side many belonged.

Fifty-six dead lay on the face of the ridge, up and down which the forces advanced and retreated. Thirteen of these

were of Captain Sharpe's Fourth Creek (Statesville) Company. Many bodies lay scattered over the hill. The killed were seventy or more, forty of whom were Whigs. The wounded were one hundred on each side, some of whom afterwards died from their wounds. Among the Whigs killed were Captains Dobson, Falls, Armstrong, Smith, Sloan and Bowman. Captains McKissick and Houston were wounded. Some of the Whigs wore a piece of white paper in their hats as a badge. Several of them were shot through the head. Many of the dead were buried on the field. Wives, mothers, daughters and other kindred of the contestants came that afternoon and next morning to inquire for their friends. As they discovered them among the dead and dying, there were heart-rending scenes of distress and grief. Mrs. Falls came twenty-five miles on horseback, accompanied by her negro cook. Finding her gallant husband dead, she obtained a quilt from Mrs. Reinhardt, whose husband lived near the battle-ground, and carried his body across Sherrill's Ford and buried it with his kindred.

The troops engaged, except Reep of Lincoln, and Major Wilson, Captains Knox and Smith of Mecklenburg, were from (what to 1777 had been) Rowan County. The officers' surnames were found among the militia officers of the county in the proceedings of the "Committee of Safety," of which many of them were members. Captain John Hardin's beat was along Lord Granville's line from Silver Creek in Burke to South Fork, and from these two points to the Catawba River. Captain Joseph Dobson was within its bounds. Much

the largest portion of the troops was from what is now Iredell County. Captain John Sloan was from Fourth Creek. I do not think all who are mentioned as captains held that position at this time; some may have been prior to and some became so afterward. No account was written until forty years had elapsed. There seems to have been but few commands given in the engagement; officers and privates acted as occasion required, and both suffered severely.

This was a battle between the ancestors of the North Carolina Confederate soldier, and taking armament and surroundings into consideration, is about a sample of what would have been witnessed in North Carolina in 1861-'65 if those who believed the proper course to pursue for redress of wrongs was to "fight in the Union" had refused to fight outside, or if Pettigrew's and Cooke's forces had been pitted against Lane's and McRae's. Tradition says Locke's men got some liquor at "Dellinger's Tavern" as they were going into the fight. This tavern stood on the present Robinson block in Lincolnton. At that time Henry Dellinger kept a tavern seven miles from Lincolnton at a cross-road, where John B. Smith now lives. It was probably Rutherford's men *en route* to the battle-field who "took courage" at Dellinger's Tavern.

IMPORTANCE OF THE BATTLE.

This battle is but little known in history, yet is one of the most important in results and best fought of the Revolution. King's Mountain and Ramsaur's Mill at that time were both in Lincoln County, and not twenty miles apart. If Moore

had obeyed Lord Cornwallis, and delayed organization until Ferguson advanced, he could have re-inforced him with two thousand men. If the Whigs had been defeated matters would have been in even worse condition. Ramsaur's Mill was the first and most important "act" in King's Mountain. It destroyed Toryism in that section and caused Bryan, with his followers, to leave the "forks of the Yadkin" and not return until Cornwallis came. The Dutch, as they had kept the oath to King George, kept their "parole" to the American cause. Cornwallis marched through this country the following January and camped at Ramsaur's Mill. He lost more by desertion than he gained in recruits. When he was here, Morgan passed the present site of Maiden, nine miles distant, and for five days was not twenty miles from him. A messenger on any of these days would have enabled Cornwallis to place his army between Morgan and the Catawba River. I do not think, in killed and wounded, in proportion to numbers engaged, the battle is equalled in the Revolution. Forty killed and one hundred wounded, out of four hundred engaged, is high class, even in Confederate annals. The defeat and rout of three times their number is certainly worthy of note. No attempt has been made to preserve the features of this battle-ground; to-day it is tilled by the plow of the farmer, and but slight mementoes of the battle can be seen. On the highest point of the ridge is a head-stone marking three Tory graves. One at the foot of the hill marks another. A brick wall near where the severest fighting was done contains the remains of Captain Dobson where he fell;

also the remains of his daughter and her husband, Wallace Alexander, who were buried beside him some years after the Revolution. The battle-field is now within the corporate limits of Lincolnton.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

General Rutherford remained here two days, sending Davie's Cavalry and other troops through the country arresting Tories, who were nearly all "paroled"; a few who had committed serious depredations being sent to Salisbury jail to await trial at next term of court. Being informed that Colonel Bryan, the noted Tory, had organized his forces in the "forks of the Yadkin," he determined to give him attention. On mustering his troops, he found he had only two hundred men of the sixteen hundred present two days before. This is a fair sample of the conduct of the Mecklenburg and Rowan militia in the Revolution. They would answer all calls to fight, but when the battle was over, or while preparation was being made, they declined to undergo the wearisomeness of camp-life. General Rutherford did not, as would be done now, send details to bring the absentees back, but sent messengers ahead along the road he would march, and before he reached the vicinity of Bryan he had six hundred men. Bryan immediately fled, and most of Rutherford's men again sought their fire-sides—this time by his permission.

When these people accomplished the object for which they had been called into service, or when the cause for the call

disappeared, they regarded the purposes for which they were wanted as fulfilled, and went home ready to answer when again called for. General Graham, who was one of them, called General Davie's attention to this trait of character when General Davie was collecting a force to attack Rocky Mount.

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These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

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BY ALPHONSO C. AVERY,

(Former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina).

The historic interest of homes centers in the families who found, occupy and adorn them, and connect them with the stirring legends and important events in the annals of a country. Amongst the earliest settlers in the valley of the upper Catawba, in the old county of Burke, were Joseph McDowell the elder, a grandson of Ephraim, the founder of the family in Virginia, Kentucky and our own State, and his cousin, known as "Hunting John," who was near the same age. They migrated, somewhere about the year 1760 and during the French-Indian war, from the old home of Ephraim McDowell, in Rockbridge county, Virginia, and, because the country west of the Catawba was rendered unsafe by roving bands of Cherokee and Catawba braves, went with their families through Rowan and Mecklenburg counties to some point in South Carolina, near the northern boundary line. Their sturdy Scotch-Irish friends had already drifted from Pennsylvania, where they, with the thousands of Germans, were first dumped by the English land-agents upon American soil, to upper South Carolina, and had commemorated their first American home by naming the three northern counties of that

Joseph McDowell, Sr and Margaret O'Neil his wife — father and mother of General Charles McDowell.

State York, Chester and Lancaster. Ephraim McDowell was born in the north of Ireland. When only sixteen years old he distinguished himself as a soldier in the siege of Londonderry. He emigrated to America at the age of sixty-two, and, after a short sojourn in Pennsylvania, moved with his sons to the old McDowell home in Rockbridge county, Virginia. He was descended from Someril, Lord of the Isles, through his son Dougald, who founded the clan of McDougald. Ephraim married Margaret Irvine, also of Scotch descent. His son, Captain John McDowell, fell in repelling a Shawnee incursion, and was the first white man killed by the Indians in the Valley of Virginia. His daughter Mary married James Greenlee and was the mother of Grizzell or Grace Greenlee. She first married Captain Bowman, who fell at Ramseur's Mill, and, after the war, her cousin, General Charles McDowell of Burke, who had inherited Quaker Meadows in 1775, at the death of his father, Joseph McDowell the elder, the first settler on that place.

"Hunting John" McDowell, so called because of his venturing into the wilderness so far from the white settlement in pursuit of game, probably first took possession of his beautiful home, Pleasant Gardens, in the Catawba Valley, in what is now McDowell county, about the time when his cousin Joseph settled at Quaker Meadows. I have not been able to ascertain the maiden name of the wife of "Hunting John," nor of the lady who married Joseph McDowell the elder; but there is abundant evidence that both had improved the advantages of being raised near Lexington, the Scotch-Irish educational cen-

Joseph McDowell was the man who made the boundary and his wife Margaret O'Neil was not the Colonel — This lady was an Irish

ter of the Valley of Virginia, and made their homes attractive to the most refined and cultured people of their day. They were doubtless religious, for we find that the first Presbyterian minister who ever made his home in old Burke reported to Synod in 1777 as the pastor at two points, Quaker Meadows and Pleasant Gardens.

According to tradition the Quaker Meadows farm was so called long before the McDowells or any other whites established homes in Burke county, and derived its name from the fact that the Indians, after clearing parts of the broad and fertile bottoms, had suffered the wild grass to spring up and form a large meadow, near which a Quaker had camped before the French-Indian war and traded for furs. On the 19th of November, 1752, Bishop Spangenburg recorded in his diary (Vol. V. Colonial Records, p. 6) that he was encamped near Quaker Meadows, and that he was "in the forest 50 miles from all settlements." The Bishop desribed the lowlands of John's River as the richest he had seen anywhere in Carolina. But, after surveying a large area, he abandoned the idea of taking title for it from Lord Granville, because the Indian war began in 1753, the next year, and lasted nominally seven years, though it was unsafe to venture west of the Catawba till after 1763, and few incurred the risk of doing so before 1770.

"Hunting John" McDowell first entered "Swan Ponds," about three miles above Quaker Meadows, but sold that place, without occupying it, to Colonel Waightstill Avery, and established his home where his son James afterwards lived and

Catholic ran away and married Joseph McDowell a young Scotch Irishman & came to America. Descendant of "L.F. Perdue" a Lieutenant

where still later Adolphus Erwin lived for years before his death. His home is three miles north of Marion on the road leading to Bakersville and Burnsville. The name of Pleasant Gardens was afterwards applied not only to this home but to the place where Colonel John Carson lived higher up the Catawba Valley, at the mouth of Buck Creek.

The McDowells and Carsons of that day and later reared thorough-bred horses and made race-paths in the broad lowlands of every large farm. They were superb horsemen, crack shots and trained hunters. John McDowell of Pleasant Gardens was a Nimrod when he lived in Virginia, and we learn from tradition that he acted as guide for his cousins over his hunting ground when, at the risk of their lives, they with their kinsmen, Greenlee and Bowman, traveled over and inspected the valley of the Catawba from Morganton to Old Fort, and selected the large domain allotted to each of them. They built and occupied strings of cabins, because the few plank or boards used by them were sawed by hand and the nails driven into them were shaped in a blacksmith's shop. I have seen many old buildings, such as the old houses at Fort Defiance, the Lenoir home, and Swan Ponds, where every plank was fastened by a wrought nail with a large round head sometimes half an inch in diameter. From these homes the lordly old proprietors could in half an hour go to the water or the woods and provide fish, deer or turkeys to meet the whim of the lady of the house. They combined the pleasure of sport with the profit of providing for their tables. The old Quaker Meadows home is two miles from Morganton, but

the eastern boundary of the farm is the Catawba, only a mile from the court-house. From the northwestern portion of the town, since the land along the river has been cleared, this magnificent and lordly estate is plainly visible, and the valley and river present a charming view for a landscape painter.

From his house on a hill on the eastern bank of the river, Peter Brank and his son-in-law, Captain David Vance, the grandfather of Z. B. Vance, could see the home of the McDowells. The place in the early days was surrounded by the newly-found homes of the Greenlees, Erwins and Captain Bowman, whose only daughter by his marriage with Grace Greenlee was the grandmother of Mrs. Harriet Espy Vance, first wife to Governor Vance. She was married to Governor Vance at Quaker Meadows—in full view of his grandfather's first home in Burke.

"Hunting John" must have died during the early part of the war for independence—probably near the time his ~~cousin~~ brother Joseph died—in 1775.

THE COUNCIL OAK.

On the 29th of August, 1780, Colonel Ferguson moved into Tryon (now Rutherford county) and camped first at Gilberttown, three miles north of Rutherfordton, with the purpose of capturing Charles McDowell and destroying his command and ultimately crossing into Washington and Sullivan counties (now Tennessee) and dealing with Shelby and Sevier of the Watauga settlement. Ferguson left Gilberttown with a detachment, in search of Charles McDowell, but McDowell laid

in ambush at Bedford Hill, on Crane Creek, and fired upon his force while crossing the creek at Cowan's Ford. Major Dunlap was wounded and Ferguson was forced to retire to Gilberttown.

After this affair Charles McDowell retreated across the mountains to warn Shelby and Sevier of the threatened desolation of their country and to invite their co-operation in an attack on Ferguson. It was agreed that the transmontane men should be gathered as expeditiously as possible, while McDowell should send messengers to Colonels Cleveland and Herndon of Wilkes county and Major Joseph Winston of Surry. The energies of Shelby, of Sullivan and Sevier of Washington county, North Carolina, then embracing the present State of Tennessee, were quickened by a message, which Ferguson had released a prisoner to convey, to the effect that he would soon cross the mountain, hang the leaders and lay their country waste with fire and sword.

The clans were summoned to meet at Quaker Meadows on the 30th of September, 1780. Meantime Charles McDowell returned to watch Ferguson, protect cattle by assailing foraging parties and give information to Shelby and Sevier of Ferguson's movements.

Rev. Samuel Doak invoked the blessings of God upon the Watauga men, as they left for King's Mountain to meet Ferguson, whose blasphemous boast had been that God Almighty could not drive him from his position. Those trustful old Scotchmen afterwards believed in their hearts that the hand

of God was in the movement which cost him his life and destroyed his force.

On September 30th, Shelby, Sevier, Cleveland, Winston and the three McDowells (Charles, Joseph of Quaker Meadows, and Joseph of Pleasant Gardens) met at Quaker Meadows, and on October 1st held a council of war under the shade of a magnificent oak which stood near a spring on the Quaker Meadows farm. This old tree, known as the Council Oak, had weathered the storms of more than a century when it was killed by lightning a few years since. At this historic spot these intrepid leaders agreed upon the plan of campaign against Ferguson. The fruit of their council was a victory, which was the turning point of the war for independence.

This venerable tree has been visited by scores of persons, and Burke takes pride in perpetuating the memory of the fact that there the old pioneer patriots, including three of her own sons, laid plans that turned the tide of war and possibly determined the destiny of the continent. The local Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution has already bought what is left of the old oak to be converted into souvenirs, and it has been proposed that the Chapter purchase a little spot, including the site of the oak, with the right of way to a road leading to it, and erect upon it a pavilion where visitors may rest.

THE McDOWELLS AT KING'S MOUNTAIN.

Charles McDowell had organized the clans into a compact, formidable force. The proposed scene of conflict was in his district, and, under military rules then in force, he was en-

titled to command. When, however, it became apparent that jealousy might impair the efficiency of the little army, he cheerfully agreed to go to Mecklenburg or Rowan and invite General Davidson to take charge. After he had left on this mission it was deemed by the council of war best to attack Ferguson before his force could be strengthened by Cornwallis, and the result indicated the wisdom of this conclusion.

Governor Shelby published an account in 1823, in which, after lauding General Charles McDowell as a patriot and a brave and able officer, he said that after it was decided by the council to send to headquarters for a general officer to take command, Charles McDowell requested, as he could not command, to be allowed to take the message, and added that "he accordingly started immediately, leaving *his men under his brother,* Major Joseph McDowell." (Wheeler's History, Part II, page 59). It was Shelby who next day made the generous move to place Campbell in command to obviate the danger of delay. Within the next twenty years some of the lineal descendants of Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens have insisted that the command of the Burke men at King's Mountain devolved on their ancestor, not on his cousin Joseph of Quaker Meadows. The writer would be rejoiced to be convinced that this contention is well founded, but is constrained to conclude that it is not. Shelby had come over with Sevier, at the instance of Charles McDowell, under whose command he had previously fought with all three of the McDowells at Musgrove's Mill and other places. He must have known whether the brother or the cousin of Colonel Charles

McDowell was next in rank to him, and he said it was the brother.

"Poor's Sketches of Congressmen" states that Joseph McDowell, who was born at Winchester, Va., in 1756, and died in 1801, was elected a member of the third and also of the fifth Congress, had commanded a portion of the right wing of the army that stormed King's Mountain. In a subsequent sketch of Joseph J. McDowell of Ohio he says that he was born in Burke county, N. C., November 13, 1800, was a son of Joseph McDowell, member from North Carolina, and was himself a member from 1843 to 1847. The widow of Joseph McDowell of Quaker Meadows left North Carolina with her little children and went to Kentucky soon after her husband's death. His home was on the banks of John's River, near where Bishop Spangenburg must have encamped when he declared that the land was the most fertile he had seen in Carolina. These sketches have always been prepared after consultation with the member as to his previous history, and we must conclude that both father and son bore testimony to the truth of history—the father that he was in command, the son that such was the family history derived from his mother. Dr. Harvey McDowell, of Cynthiana, Ky., who presided over the first Scotch-Irish Convention at Nashville, Tenn., and who died at the ripe age of fourscore, a year or two since, had devoted much of his life to the study of family history, and had conversed with members of the family who knew Joseph of Quaker Meadows and Joseph of Pleasant Gardens and were familiar with their history.

Speaking of the agreement of Colonel Charles McDowell to go to headquarters, Dr. Harvey McDowell says:

"He thereupon turned over the command of his regiment to his *brother Joe of Quaker Meadows,* who was thus promoted from the position of Major, which he had held in this regiment, to that of acting Colonel, and in the regular order of promotion, Captain Joe of Pleasant Gardens (the cousin and brother-in-law of the other Joe) became Major Joe, he having been senior Captain of the regiment."

With the rank, one of Colonel and the other of Major, these cousins of the same name led the brave sharp-shooters who fought so heroically at Cowpens and in the many fights of less consequence. Sarah McDowell, a daughter of Captain John, who was killed by the Shawnees, married Colonel George Moffitt, a wealthy and distinguished officer in the war for independence. His accomplished daughter Margaret married Joseph McDowell of Quaker Meadows, and her younger sister Mary became the wife of Joseph of Pleasant Gardens. The cousins served Burke county acceptably both in the House of Commons and Senate of the State Legislature and in the Convention at Hillsboro, as they had both won distinction while fighting side by side on a number of battlefields. The writer has inclined to the opinion that both served in Congress, Joseph McDowell, Jr., of Pleasant Gardens, from 1793 to 1795, when he died, and Joseph, Sr., of Quaker Meadows, from 1797 to 1799. But this is still a debated question.

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THE TWO JOSEPHS.

Joseph McDowell of Quaker Meadows was a handsome man, wonderfully magnetic, universally popular, and of more than ordinary ability. He was a born leader of men and was represented by the old men of the succeeding generation to have retained till his death the unbounded confidence and affection of his old soldiers. Margaret Moffitt was a woman of extraordinary beauty, as was her sister Mary.

After the battle of King's Mountain, in October, Joseph McDowell of Quaker Meadows remained in the field with 190 mounted riflemen, including the younger Joseph as one of his officers, until he joined Morgan on December 29th and participated in the battle of Cowpens.

Joseph of Pleasant Gardens was a brilliant man of more solid ability than his cousin of the same name. The late Silas McDowell, who died in Macon county, but lived during his early life, first in Burke and then in Buncombe, in discussing in an unpublished letter, of which I have a copy, the prominent men who lived "west of Lincoln county," reaches the conclusion that, prior to the day of D. L. Swain, Samuel P. Carson and Dr. Robert B. Vance, no man in that section had, according to tradition, towered far above his fellows intellectually except Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens, whose "light went out when he was in his noonday prime, and in the last decade of the eighteenth century." He was born February 26, 1758, and died in 1795. His widow married Colonel John Carson, whose first wife was the daughter of "Hunting

Col Joe McDowell served in Congress
Capt Joe " " never did

John." Samuel P. Carson, the oldest son by the second marriage of Mary Moffit McDowell, was a member of the Senate of North Carolina in 1822, and was born January 22, 1798. (See Wheeler's Reminiscences, page 89). Joseph of Quaker Meadows was born in 1756, was two years older, and therefore must have been Joseph, Sr. Wheeler records the name of Joseph McDowell, Jr., as having served successively from 1787 to 1792, inclusive, as a member of the House of Commons from Burke county, but not after the latter date. (See list of Burke Legislators, Wheeler's History, Part II, page 62). Joseph McDowell, according to same authority, was a State Senator, succeeding General Charles, from 1791 to 1795, inclusive, and during that time did not serve in Congress, though he unquestionably served later. These and other facts have led the writer to believe Joseph, Jr., served one term in Congress, from 1793 to 1795, when he died, and that afterwards, and up to the time of his death, the elder cousin was a member. Joseph McDowell, Jr., was not in public life after 1792, unless he served one term in Congress before his death. It is not probable that he lived from 1792 to 1795 without holding an official position.

THE McDOWELL WOMEN—MRS. GRACE GREENLEE McDOWELL, MRS. MARGARET MOFFITT McDOWELL, MRS. MARY MOFFITT McDOWELL.

of Quaker Meadows

Mrs. Margaret Moffitt McDowell, says Dr. Harvey McDowell, was a beautiful and charming woman. After the death of her husband she returned to the Valley of Virginia and went thence to Kentucky. Amongst her descendants

was a son, Joseph J., already mentioned, a member of Congress, and many other people prominent in public or social life, both of Kentucky and Ohio.

Mrs. Mary Moffitt McDowell was the mother of Mrs. Margaret McDowell, who married her cousin, Captain Charles McDowell, a son of General Charles, and was the mistress at the Quaker Meadows home, where she kept a house always open to her friends till her death in 1859. Her oldest daughter, Mary, first married General John Gray Bynum in 1838, and subsequently became the second wife of Chief Justice Pearson in 1859. The late Judge John Gray Bynum was the only son. Another daughter, Eliza, was the wife of Nicholas W. Woodfin, one of the ablest lawyers of his day, and another, Margaret, married W. F. McKesson, and was the mother of the first Mrs. F. H. Busbee and of C. F. McKesson. Another daughter married John Woodfin, a prominent lawyer, who fell at the head of his battalion, resisting Kirk's invasion at Warm Springs. The only son who survived Mrs. Annie McDowell was Colonel James C. S. McDowell. He married Miss Julia, daughter of Governor Charles Manly. His first service was when, as Second Lieutenant of Company G of the Bethel Regiment, he participated in the first battle of the war. Later he became Colonel of the Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment, and fell gallantly leading it in a charge on Marye's Heights in 1863. James McDowell, his oldest son, married Margaret Erwin, and was the father of Dr. Joseph McDowell of Buncombe and Dr. John C. McDowell of Burke, both of whom were

members of the Secession Convention of 1861, and of Colonel William, who was Captain in the Bethel Regiment and afterwards Colonel of the Sixtieth North Carolina. Another son, John McDowell, was the father of Colonel John of Rutherford County.

After the death of her husband, Mrs. Mary McDowell married Colonel John Carson, and made her home at his mansion near the mouth of Buck Creek, on the Catawba. The name of Pleasant Gardens followed her and was applied to her new as well as her old home. Her oldest son by the second marriage, Colonel Samuel P. Carson, after serving in the Legislature of the State, served four terms in Congress. He was at first a favorite of Old Hickory, and was selected as the readiest debater in the House to defend the administration on the floor of that body. He afterwards became the friend of John C. Calhoun, and his defense of nullification estranged Jackson and led to Carson's retirement from Congress. The last service of Carson to the State was as one of the members from Burke of the Constitutional Convention of 1835. His father had been one of Burke's members of the Convention of 1789, when the Constitution of the United States had been ratified by the State.

In the writer's boyhood older men spoke of Sam Carson as the most eloquent speaker and the most fascinating gentleman they had known.

In the early part of the year 1835, Samuel Carson went, with the view of finding a home, to the republic of Texas, then struggling with Mexico for independence. It was dur-

ing his absence that he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1835. He migrated to Texas in 1836, and soon after his arrival was chosen a member of the Convention of 1836, which framed a Constitution, and, upon the election of General Samuel Houston to the presidency of the young republic, was made Secretary of State. The efforts of Carson to secure recognition of the Lone Star State were potent in beginning the agitation, which culminated in 1845 in recognition and annexation.

THE CARSON-VANCE DUEL.

Stung by defeat in 1825, Dr. Robert B. Vance determined to break him down in 1827. He believed, it is supposed on account of Carson's great amiability, that Carson was a coward, though a more fatal mistake was never made, and, acting upon that belief, charged in a public discussion at Morganton that Colonel John Carson, the father of his opponent, and who has already been mentioned as a member of the Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States, at Fayetteville, was a Tory, and took protection when Ferguson invaded Burke. Colonel Carson rose and denounced Vance as a liar. Vance tauntingly said to him: "You are too old. You have a gallant son, whose duty it is to fight your battles." I am reliably informed that Vance did not believe that Samuel Carson would resent this insult, and he knew that if he should not he could never be elected again after the election which was to take place in a few days.

To show how widely mistaken Dr. Vance was in his estimate of Carson, the writer has heard from his father that on the night after this discussion, Samuel P. Carson, his six brothers and his father met at the old family home, at the mouth of Buck Creek, and though the old Colonel insisted upon sending a challenge, his sons overruled him, and agreed that after the approaching election Samuel should challenge Vance, and should Samuel fall, each of the brothers, beginning with the oldest, Joseph McDowell Carson of Rutherford, should challenge him in succession. The Colonel was appeased by an agreement that should Vance kill all of his boys he should then have the opportunity to avenge the insult. All of the brothers were cool and courageous and were crack shots. Soon after the election Carson crossed the Tennessee line to avoid a violation of the laws of his own State, and sent by Colonel Alney Burgin of Old Fort an invitation to Vance to come over to Tennessee and discuss the grievance complained of. Carson, with the distinguished Warren David of South Carolina as a second, and accompanied by David Crockett as a friend, met and mortally wounded Vance at Saluda. Just before taking his place, Carson, who was as kind as he was courageous, said to Warren David: "I can hit him anywhere I choose. I prefer to inflict a wound that will not prove fatal." David said: "Vance will try to kill you, and, if he receives only a flesh wound, will demand another shot, which will mean another chance to kill you. I will not act for you unless you promise me to do your best to kill him." Carson promised, and Vance fell mortally wounded.

Carson's heart was tender, and he died lamenting that the demands of an imperious custom had forced him to wreck his own peace of mind, in order to save the honor of his family and remove the reproach upon his name.

The oldest son of Colonel Carson, Joseph McDowell Carson, was a prominent lawyer, and represented Rutherford county in the Convention of 1835, and frequently in the Legislature. He was the grandfather of Captain Joseph Mills of Burke and of Mrs. Frank Coxe of Asheville, as well as of Ralph P. Carson, a prominent lawyer of South Carolina.

One of the Daughters of "Hunting John" married a Whitson, and her descendants for a century have been honored citizens of McDowell and Buncombe counties. One of them married the only daughter of Samuel P. Carson. Joseph McD. Burgin of Old Fort, a son of General Alney Burgin, who bore the message to Vance, is another of his worthy descendants, and the accomplished daughter of Captain Burgin is the wife of the golden-tongued orator of the West, Hon. Locke Craig.

Colonel William Carson, second son of Mrs. Mary Moffitt Carson and J. Logan Carson, third son of her marriage with Colonel John Carson, both lived and died on one of the farms known as Pleasant Gardens. William married twice, and amongst his descendants are many prominent men and estimable and accomplished ladies. William Carson Ervin of Morganton is a grandson of William Carson, and J. L. Carson was the grandfather of Mrs. W. McD. Burgin and Mrs. P. J. Sinclair of Marion. C. Manly McDowell is the

Sheriff of Burke county, and her most popular citizen. He is a son of Colonel James C. S. McDowell of the Fifty-fourth North Carolina, who fell at Marye's Heights, and the grandson of Captain Charles, son of General Charles and of Annie, daughter of Joseph of Pleasant Gardens and Mary Moffitt. William Walton, a grandson of Colonel James and a graduate of the University, won a commission as Lieutenant in the Philippines by his gallantry and good conduct, and, thanks to his university training, stood the examination for the regular army.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THESE OLD HOMES.

The sacredness of home to all of us is born of its association with loved ones who have entered into our lives. So we listen to historical legends which connect homes with people who have won a place in history.

The Quaker Meadows of the Revolutionary era was known historically as the place where patriots rallied and where the chiefs, under the old Council Oak, laid the foundation stone of our independence. Later it was known to visitors as the home where Grace Greenlee McDowell dispensed a lavish hospitality to her friends and to the old comrades of her husband. She was known as the cultured woman who (with an infant in her arms, the grandmother of Mrs. Harriet Espy Vance) rode to Ramseur's Mills to nurse her wounded husband, and who afterwards went into a cave to aid in the secret manufacture of powder. To her family she was the lovely Christian mother who whispered into infants' ears the

story of the Cross, and taught her children, growing into manhood and womanhood, how, though remote from towns, to be cultured ladies and gentlemen.

It seems sad to those who have inherited the old English idea of establishing and maintaining family ancestral homes that descend from sire to son for ages, that these old dwellings have passed into the hands of good people outside of the families who founded them. Though their connection with family names has ceased, it is a patriotic duty of all who love their country and appreciate the blessings of liberty to perpetuate the history of these old homes as the scenes of great events. I have tried to show that many good and true and some great people trace their origin to the founders of these homes that in the last century were nurseries of the courage and fortitude that carried King's Mountain.

MRS. C. A. CILLEY, MRS. MARGARET BUSBEE SHIPP, MISS MARGARET McDOWELL AND MRS. LEE S. OVERMAN.

It is not inappropriate to mention a few of the McDowell women of to-day who are well known in North Carolina by other names.

The names of Mrs. C. A. Cilley, Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp, Miss Margaret McDowell of Morganton and Mrs. Lee S. Overman are living representatives of the Pleasant Gardens and Quaker Meadows stock, who show that the families have not degenerated in learning or culture. Mrs. Cilley is the great-granddaughter of Charles McDowell and Grace Greenlee. Mrs. Shipp is a descendant, one degree further

removed, of Charles McDowell and Grace Greenlee, and also of Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens. Miss Margaret McDowell is a great-granddaughter of Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens. Mrs. Lee S. Overman is the great-great-granddaughter of General Charles McDowell and Grace Greenlee. She is the wife of Senator Overman and the daughter of the late distinguished Chief Justice Merrimon and the niece of Judge James H. Merrimon, the two ablest and most distinguished of the descendants of General Charles McDowell. All of these ladies contribute interesting articles for the press. Mrs. Shipp is the widow of Lieutenant W. E. Shipp, who fell at Santiago. North Carolina is proud of him as a son and the nation of his career as a soldier.

Col Jno McDowell married Margaret Moffitt
their daughter
Hannah McDowell
married
daughter of Col Geo Moffitt
of Augusta County Va
daughter
married
Perdue
Son
L. F. Perdue
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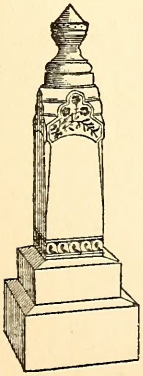
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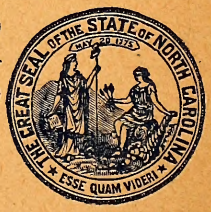
VOL. IV AUGUST, 1904 No. 4

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET



GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

THE CONVENTION OF 1788–'89 AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—HILLSBOROUGH AND FAYETTEVILLE.



BY

JUDGE HENRY GROVES CONNOR.

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"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

THE CONVENTION OF 1788-'89 AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—HILLSBOROUGH AND FAYETTEVILLE.

BY HENRY GROVES CONNOR,

(Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina).

The General Assembly of North Carolina, at an adjourned session in January, 1787, appointed Governor Caswell, Alexander Martin, General W. R. Davie, Richard Dobbs Spaight and Willie Jones delegates to the Convention which had been called to meet at Philadelphia on May 14, 1787, for the purpose of proposing amendments to the Articles of Confederation. Willie Jones and Governor Caswell could not attend, and pursuant to the power vested in him the Governor appointed Hugh Williamson and William Blount. On the first day of the Convention Messrs. Martin, Spaight, Davie and Williamson were present. Mr. Blount took his seat June 20, 1787. After a session of four months, the Convention, on September 17, 1787, reported to Congress a plan of government which, when ratified by nine of the thirteen States, was to become "between the States so ratifying the same the Constitution of the United States." A government was to be organized pursuant to its provisions. The Convention adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that, after being submitted to Congress, the Constitution should be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each State by the peo-

ple thereof "under the recommendation of its Legislature." Accompanying the Constitution was an open letter signed by George Washington, President.

Messrs. Blount, Spaight and Williamson signed the Constitution in behalf of this State. General Davie left Philadelphia for his home upon the final vote, and before the Constitution was prepared to be signed. Mr. Martin was also at home, as we learn from a letter to Governor Caswell, in which he says that he is compelled to be at Salisbury Superior Court. He further says: "My absence may, I think, be the more easily dispensed with when I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency the Deputation from the State of North Carolina have generally been unanimous on all great questions." In the same letter he explains to the Governor the reason why he has not had "particular information respecting the Convention," etc. On September 18, 1787, Messrs. Blount, Spaight and Williamson sent to the Governor an interesting letter regarding the several parts of the Constitution in which the State was specially interested.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Convention, the proposed Constitution was submitted to the Legislatures of the several States. On November 21, 1787, the Governor sent to the Legislature of North Carolina a message with certain "Papers respecting the Federal Convention." The two Houses of the General Assembly fixed the 5th of December as "a time at which they will enter on the important business of the Federal Constitution." On that day a message was sent to the Senate by the House announcing that

they were ready to meet in conference "on this business in the Commons room immediately." The Senate being ready, the two Houses met in conference and resolved themselves into a Committee of the Whole "to take into consideration the proposed Federal Constitution." The Committee, after some debate, adjourned, reporting progress. On the next day the Committee again met and adopted a series of resolutions recommending that a Convention be called for the purpose of "deliberating and determining on the said Constitution," etc. Provision was made for the election of five delegates for each county and one from each borough town. The third Monday of July, 1788, was fixed as the time of meeting. The place was afterwards agreed upon at Hillsborough. The Convention was also authorized to fix upon a place for the Capital of the State. The delegates were elected on the last Friday and Saturday in March, 1788.

Upon the adjournment of the Philadelphia Convention, the friends and opponents of the new Constitution began a spirited and, in some States, a bitter controversy in regard to its merits, etc. The conditions are well described by Mr. Fiske. He says: "And now there ensued such a war of pamphlets, broadsides, caricatures, squibs and stump speeches as had never yet been seen in America. Cato and Aristides, Cincinnatus and Plain Truth were out in full force. What was the matter with the old Confederation? asked the Anti-Federalists. Had it not conducted a glorious and successful war? Had it not set us free from the oppression of England? That there was some trouble now in the country

could not be denied, but all would be right if people would only curb their extravagance, wear homespun clothes and obey the laws. There was government enough in the country already. The Philadelphia Convention ought to be distrusted. Some of its members had opposed the Declaration of Independence," etc. Complaint was made that Hamilton and Madison were "mere boys," while Franklin was an "old dotard," a man in his second childhood. Washington, they said, was "doubtless a good soldier, but what did he know about politics?" Some went so far as to say that he was a "born fool."

Thomas Iredell, in a letter to his brother, May 22, 1788, says that "Mr. Allen read me a part of a letter he received from a gentleman of his acquaintance, who mentions a conversation he had with General Person, the substance of which was 'that General Washington was a damned rascal and traitor to his country for putting his hand to such an infamous paper as the new Constitution.'"

"Letters from a Federalist Farmer," by Richard Henry Lee, pointed out that the author saw "seeds of an aristocracy and of centralization" in the Constitution. That it created "a National Legislature in which the vote was to be by individuals and not by States."

Many of those who opposed the proposed Constitution admitted the necessity for amendment to the Articles of Confederation, but saw in the new plan danger to the integrity of the States and the destruction of local self-government. The defenders of the Constitution were by no means silent

or idle. Hamilton, Madison and Jay published over the name "Publius" a series of essays explaining and defending the Constitution, which, when bound in a volume, were known as "The Federalist." Mr. Lodge says: "The 'Federalist' throughout the length and breadth of the United States did more than anything else that was either written or spoken to secure the adoption of the new scheme." Mr. Fiske says: "The essays were widely and eagerly read and probably accomplished more toward insuring the adoption of the new Constitution than anything else that was said or done in the eventful year." Mr. McRee, in his "Life of Judge Iredell," which Mr. Bancroft says "for instruction is an invaluable work," says: "Contemporaneous with the meeting of the Convention at Philadelphia, the two great parties into which the people were divided began to be known as 'Federalist' and 'Anti-Federalist,' or 'Republican.' The former in favor of a more intimate union of the States, and fully prepared to receive the new plan of government; the latter either content with the Confederation, or content to submit to slight or partial amendments alone." William Dickson, a very intelligent and observant man, living in Duplin County, gives us a very clear and interesting description of conditions in the State. On November 30, 1787, he writes: "During the course of the last summer a grand Convention of delegates from the several States were assembled at Philadelphia. The only production of their councils which I have yet seen published is a Constitution for the United States of America to be submitted to the Legislature of each State for their appro-

bation and concurrence, a copy or a pamphlet of which, for amusement, I herewith enclose you. Our General Assembly for this State are now convened and have it under consideration. We hear that debate runs high concerning it, also the populace in the country are divided in their opinions concerning it. For my own part, I am but a shallow politician, but there are some parts of it I do not like."

Judge Iredell published in 1788 an "Answer to Mr Mason's Objections to the New Constitution," signed "Marcus." In this very able paper he states Mr. Mason's objections and proceeds to answer them *seriatim*. This paper was published in connection with an "Address to the People," by Mr. Maclaine, signed "Publicola."

That the "Federalist" was circulated in this State is shown by letters referring to it from Davie and Maclaine to Iredell. But Iredell was unanimously elected a delegate from Edenton to the Convention, Davie secured a seat from the town of Halifax, and Maclaine, Governor Johnston and Spaight were also selected. The election in a large majority of the counties showed much hostility to the proposed Constitution. William Hooper writes Iredell from Hillsborough: "I fear those who favor the new Constitution will be far outnumbered by their adversaries. The Western Country in general is decidedly opposed to it. Mr. Moore and myself essayed in vain for a seat in the Convention. Our sentiments had transpired before the election." Maclaine writes that while he hears that many of the people are changing their opinions in favor of the Constitution, that it is not very good

sign that such men as General Allen Jones, William Blount, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Moore, General Martin and Judge Williams have been rejected

The Convention met in the Presbyterian Church at Hillsborough on July 21, 1788, with two hundred and eighty-four members. Governor Johnston, although a strong supporter of the Constitution, was unanimously elected President. Mr. John Hunt and Mr. Joseph Taylor were elected Secretaries. Among the delegates, besides those named, were John Steele of Rowan, "laborious, clear-sighted and serviceable for his knowledge of men"; General Davie, who had won renown as a soldier in the Revolutionary War, served many times in the Legislature, a man of eminent ability and destined for high honors in the service of the State and nation.

Of James Iredell, Mr. Bancroft says: "Foremost among the Federalists, the master mind of the Convention was James Iredell, who before he was forty years old was placed by Washington on the Supreme Bench of the United States." He was at that time thirty-six, and had not before served in a parliamentary body. Moore says: "He was as ready in debate as he was profound in legal and constitutional knowledge."

Archibald Maclaine was a learned and able lawyer and ardent patriot, and had rendered eminent service in the Cape Fear section in the struggle for independence. He was strong in debate, but impatient and at times gave way to a hasty temper

Richard Dobbs Spaight had been a member of the Phila-

delphia Convention. He was a man of great ability, and was afterwards Governor of the State

Among the leaders in the opposition, by far the most influential was Willie Jones of Halifax. Of this remarkable man, Mr. McRee says: "Willie Jones was the most influential politician in the State. Although democratic in theory, he was aristocratic in habits, tastes, pursuits and prejudices; he lived sumptuously and wore fine linen; he raced, hunted and played cards. He was proud of his wealth and social position and fastidious in the selection of associates of his family. A patriot in the Revolution, he was now the acknowledged head of a great party. * * * He was a loving and cherished disciple of Jefferson, and was often taunted with his subserviency to Virginia 'abstractions.' He seldom shared in discussions. His time for action was chiefly during the hours of adjournment; then it was that he stimulated the passions, aroused the suspicions and moderated the ardor of his followers; then it was that, smoking his pipe and chatting of ploughs, stock, dogs, etc., he stole his way into the hearts of honest farmers and erected there thrones for himself."

Judge Spencer, of Anson, was probably the ablest debater in the ranks of the opponents. He spoke more frequently and at greater length than any other on that side. While he strongly advocated guarantees against apprehended dangers, he recognized the necessity for a stronger and closer union of the States. His temper was good and his language moderate.

Timothy Bloodworth was one of the most interesting men

in the body. McRee says of him: "By no means one of the least among them, he was one of the most remarkable men of that era, distinguished for the versatility of his talents and his practical knowledge of men, trades, arts and sciences. The child of poverty, diligence and ambition had supplied the place of patronage and wealth. Preacher, smith, farmer, doctor, watch-maker, wheelwright and politician. * * In the social circle, good-humored, gay and full of racy anecdotes, as a politician he was resolute almost to fierceness and almost radical in his democracy. He was a member of Congress and United States Senator.

Dr. Caldwell, a Presbyterian minister, was learned and intelligent. Among his people "he discharged the triple function of preacher, physician and teacher, and for all these various offices his industry and sagacity had so qualified him that he had no rival."

McDowell had won distinction at the battles of King's Mountain and Cowpens. He was a strong man, and always spoke with clearness and vigor. "He was throughout his life the idol of the people of Western North Carolina."

General Thomas Persons strongly supported Willie Jones in his opposition to the Constitution. Like him, he spoke but seldom.

Among other names prominent in our State's history were Elisha Battle, Stephen Cabarrus, Josiah Collins, John Sitgreaves, William Barry Grove, Thomas Owens, Thomas Brown, Joseph Winston, John Macon (brother of Nathaniel),

William Lenoir, James Kenan, John Branch, Joel Lane, Matthew Lockes.

Bancroft says: "The Convention organized itself with tranquility and dignity and proceeded to discuss the Constitution clause by clause." McRee says: "A Mr. Robinson attended as stenographer. The Federalists were desirous that the debates should be published, trusting that their dissemination would produce a salutary change in the opinions of the people. At their instance, Iredell and Davie assumed the responsibility and care of their publication. The debates are to be seen in Elliott's collection, and do so much honor to the State and compare so well with the debates on the same subject in other States, that no North Carolinian can fail in grateful recollection of the energy and industry of the two eminent men to whom he is indebted for their preservation." They lost money on their publication. The usual Committees on Rules and Credentials were appointed and reports adopted. The election in Dobbs County was declared invalid because of a riot and disturbance, the box being taken away by violence. After hearing the proposed Constitution and other papers read, Mr. Galloway moved that the Constitution be discussed "clause by clause." This was promptly opposed by Willie Jones and General Person, both of whom said that they supposed every delegate was prepared to vote at once; that the condition of the public treasury was such that no more expense should be incurred than was necessary. Judge Iredell said that he was "astonished at the proposal to decide immediately, without the least deliberation, a question which

was perhaps the greatest ever submitted to any body of men." He said that the Constitution was formed after much deliberation by honest and able men of "probity and understanding"; that ten States had ratified it. He urged with much ability and in excellent spirit a full consideration. Mr. Jones said that he was prepared to vote and supposed others were, but if gentlemen differed with him he would submit. The Convention, without coming to a vote, adjourned The next day, upon the suggestion of Mr. Galloway, the members of the Convention went into Committee of the Whole for the purpose of discussing the Constitution, Mr. Elisha Battle presiding, Mr. Caldwell submitted some "fundamental rules or principles of government" and proposed that the Constitution be compared with them. This proposition was rejected as impracticable. The preamble being read, Mr. Caldwell at once opened the discussion by attacking the language "We the People," saying "if they mean by 'We the People' the people at large, that he conceived the expression was improper." He contended that the delegates who formed the Constitution represented the States and had no power to act for "the people at large." Mr. Maclaine, admitting that they were "delegated by the States," insisted that when adopted the Constitution became the work of the people. General Davie said that he was called upon to speak because it was charged that the delegates had exceeded their powers, which he denied. Judge Iredell came to General Davie's aid, but neither of these able men could satisfy the troubled mind of the Presbyterian preacher, who, at the conclusion, simply said that "he

wished to know why the gentlemen who were delegated by the States styled themselves 'We the People'; that he only wished for information." Mr. Taylor, in a remarkably clear and forceful manner, expressed the thought of the Anti-Federalists. He said that by the use of the words "We the people" the delegates assumed a power not delegated. "Had they said 'We the States,' there would have been a federal intention in it, but it was clear that a consolidation was intended." He said that he was "astonished that the servants of the Legislature of North Carolina should go to Philadelphia and instead of speaking of the State of North Carolina should speak of the people. I wish to stop power as soon as possible." Mr. Maclaine expressed "astonishment" at the objection. He showed impatience by referring to it as "trifling," but the hard-headed Scotch preacher mildly said that he "only wished to know why they had assumed the name of the people."

Although, during the century or more that has passed since these men in Hillsborough, Patrick Henry and George Mason in Virginia, and others who were inquisitive in regard to the use of the expression, demanded an answer to their question, high debate, learned discussion and long treatises have been had and written, and grim war has played its part in the argument, it has not been answered satisfactorily to the minds of men like Mr. Caldwell. It certainly was not answered to the satisfaction of Willie Jones and his disciples.

The first section of article one, vesting all legislative power

in Congress, was read and passed over with but little discussion, Mr. Maclaine making some observations in regard to biennial elections. Mr. Shepherd remarked that he could see no propriety in the friends of the Constitution making objections when none were made by the opponents, whereupon Mr. Jones said that he would suggest that one of the friends of the measure make objections and another answer. General Davie said that he hoped personal reflections would be avoided as much as possible, that he was sorry to see so much impatience "so early in the business." Mr. Jones made no reply and said nothing until the end of the discussion. Mr. Bloodworth spoke for the first time, saying that any gentleman had a right to make objections, and that he was sorry to hear reflections made.

The satus of negroes in making up the basis for representation was discussed by Mr. Groudy, who "did not wish to be represented with negroes." General Davie said that they were an unhappy species of population, but they could not then alter their situation; that the Eastern States were jealous in regard to giving the Southern States representation for their slaves. He expressed the hope that the gentleman from Guilford "would accommodate his feelings to the interest and circumstances of his country." Mr. Spaight and Governor Johnston spoke with much good sense and temper.

"The sole power of impeachment" conferred upon the House of Representatives was objected to and fears were expressed that it might be construed to include the impeachment of State officers. Judge Iredell and Governor Johnston

fully answered the arguments of Mr. Bloodworth and Mr. Taylor, while Mr. Maclaine referred to them as "silly."

Mr. Cabarrus and Judge Iredell discussed the term of Senators, and explained the reason why they were fixed at six years The sixth section, or clause, gave rise to an acrimonious debate, in which Mr. Maclaine referred to the objections as displaying "horrid ignorance." Mr. Taylor said: "If all are not of equal ability with the gentleman, he ought to possess charity towards us and not lavish such severe reflections upon us in such a declamatory manner." This brought from the rather impatient gentleman a prompt expression of regret, etc. Mr. Bloodworth observed that he was obliged to the gentleman for his construction, but expressed the apprehension that the same construction might not be put upon the clause by Congress. He said were he to go to Congress, he would put that construction on it. No one could say what construction Congress would put on it. "I do not distrust him, but I distrust them. I wish to leave no dangerous latitude of construction."

The first clause of the fourth section being read, Judge Spencer spoke for the first time, expressing apprehension that the power given to Congress to fix the time, place and manner of holding elections for members of Congress did away with the right of the people to elect their representatives every two years. He wished the matter explained. Governor Johnston frankly said: "I confess that I am a very great admirer of the new Constitution, but I cannot comprehend the reason of this part." After some discussion, he said that

every State which had recommended amendments had given directions that the provision be removed, and he hoped that this State would do the same. Judge Spencer here spoke at some length with force and in excellent spirit. He admitted that the Constitution had a "great deal of merit in it." He thought this clause "reprehensible." "It apparently looks forward to a consolidation of the government of the United States, when the State Legislatures may entirely decay away." He regarded the State governments as the "basis of our happiness, security and prosperity." Mr. Iredell said that he was "glad to see so much candor and moderation. The liberal sentiments expressed by the honorable gentleman" commanded his respect. He proceeded to show that this power given to Congress was "both necessary and useful to the continued existence of the government," but conceded that great jealousy existed in regard to it, saying: "I should, therefore, not object to the recommendation of an amendment similar to that of other States, that this power in Congress should only be exercised when a State Legislature neglected or was disabled from making the regulation required." After other remarks by several delegates, General Davie made an extended argument in defense of the power, to which Mr. Caldwell remarked "those things which can be and may be," protesting strongly against the clause. Mr. Maclaine entered the list with the somewhat testy observation that the objection made by the reverend gentleman from Guilford "astonished him more than anything he had heard. After making some criticisms upon references to the history of England, he con-

cluded: "It cannot be supposed that the representatives of our general government will be worse than the members of our State government. Will we be such fools as to send our greatest rascals to the general government?" Mr. James Galloway and Mr. Bloodworth spoke strongly against the clause, while Mr. Steele, speaking for the first time, presented the other side with great clearness and power. Among other things, he said: "If the Congress make laws inconsistent with the Constitution independent judges will not enforce them, nor will the people obey them." The debate on this clause elicited more learning and ability than any which preceded it, the opposition getting rather the better of the argument.

The clause empowering Congress "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts," etc., elicited considerable debate. Mr. Spencer opened the discussion, expressing apprehension that the extensive power conferred upon Congress would deprive the States of any source of revenue. The Anti-Federalists insisted that Congress should "not have power to levy taxes in the first instance, but should apply to the States, and in case of refusal then direct taxation shall take place." The friends of the Constitution contended that direct taxation would not be necessary; that custom duties and excise taxes would meet the ordinary expenses of the government. Governor Johnston led in the debate for the Federalists, aided by a strong speech by Mr. Hill, who spoke for the first time. Mr. Iredell spoke briefly.

Mr. McDowell objected to the clause regarding the importation of slaves and the power conferred upon Congress to

restrict it after the year 1808. Mr. Spaight, who was a member of the Philadelphia Convention, explained that this section was the result of a compromise. Mr. Iredell said if it were practicable it would give him the greatest pleasure to put an end to the importation of slaves immediately. He said: "When the entire abolition of slavery takes place it will be an event that must be pleasing to every generous mind and every friend of human nature; but we often wish for things that are not attainable." Mr. Galloway was not satisfied with the explanation. He said: "I wish to see the abominable trade put an end to." In conclusion, he asked the oft-repeated, never-answered question: "I apprehend it means to bring forward manumission. If we manumit our slaves, what country shall we send them to? It is impossible for us to be happy if, after manumission, they are to stay among us." With a few explanatory remarks, this ended, for the time, the discussion. Whether it will be ended in "the tide of time" is one of the unsolved problems—unanswered questions.

When the second article, without further discussion, was reached, General Davie, evidently understanding the tactics of Willie Jones and his followers, expressed his astonishment at the "precipitancy with which the Convention was proceeding." Mr. Taylor thought it a waste of time to make trivial objections.

The several clauses in regard to the manner of electing the President and the powers conferred upon him were read and debated at considerable length, Mr. Iredell making an able and exhaustive defense of the mode of election, etc. The power to

make treaties with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate was strongly objected to by Mr. Spencer and Mr. Bloodworth and defended by General Davie and Mr. Iredell.

The article establishing and defining the jurisdiction of the Federal judiciary gave rise to a spirited and able discussion. The strong men on both sides took part, putting forth their best efforts. Judge Spencer opened the discussion, stating very clearly his objections to the article. He thought the jurisdiction conferred upon the Federal courts too extensive; that they would absorb the power of the State courts, leaving them nothing to do. He well understood the tendency of courts to extend by construction and implication their jurisdiction. He objected that men would be taken long distances from their homes to attend upon the courts, and there would be a horde of officers. He said: "If we consider nothing but the article of taxation, duties and excises, and the laws which might be made with reference to these, the cases will be almost infinite." He strongly protested because of the absence of any provision requiring trial by jury in civil cases. In the course of this discussion the objection that the Constitution contained no Bill of Rights was first made. Judge Spencer said: "There ought to be a Bill of Rights in order that those in power may not step over the boundary between the powers of government and the rights of the people." He was strongly supported by Mr. Bloodworth and Mr. McDowell. The friends of the Constitution joined in defending it and answering the objections. Judge Iredell, General Davie and their supporters were at their best, and Judge Iredell frankly

said: "I am by no means surprised at the anxiety which is expressed by gentlemen on this subject. Of all the trials that ever were instituted in the world, this, in my opinion, is the best, and that which I hope will continue the longest." He thought the right sufficiently guarded. The seventh amendment to the Constitution not only vindicated the wisdom, but removed the objection of Judge Spencer and his associates.

To the demand for a Bill of Rights, it was answered by Judge Iredell and General Davie that, as our government was based upon the principle that all political power was vested in the people, and that the government possessed only such as was expressly granted, it was unnecessary and would be incongruous to have a declaration or Bill of Rights. That in this respect our government essentially differed from the English, wherein all power was vested in the King and the people possessed only such rights as were expressly granted them. Theoretically, Iredell was correct, but practically and in the light of the struggle for the protection and preservation of civil and religious liberty, Bloodworth and Spencer were right in demanding that nothing, in this respect, be left to "mere construction or opinion." Bloodworth said: "I still see the necessity of a Bill of Rights. Gentlemen use contradictory arguments on this subject, if I recollect right. Without the most express restrictions, Congress may trample on your rights. Every possible precaution ought to be taken when we grant powers. Rulers are always disposed to abuse them." Mr. Bass, who spoke but once, said that he considered

the Constitution neither necessary nor proper; that gentlemen of the law differed about its meaning; that he could not understand it, although he had taken great pains to do so, and flattered himself with the possession of common sense and reason. He said that from the contrariety of opinion, he thought "the thing was uncommonly difficult or absolutely unintelligible." He apologized for his ignorance by observing "that he never went to school, and was born blind." He wished for information.

In regard to the fourth article there was no discussion, Mr. Iredell simply observing that the expression "persons held to service or labor" was used because the Northern delegates had scruples on the subject of slavery and objected to the use of the word slave.

Article five, in regard to the manner of making amendments, was passed over without discussion.

Section two of article six elicited much discussion. Mr. Iredell said that the declaration that the Constitution and laws of the United States should be the supreme law of the land was no more than saying "that when we adopt the government we will maintain and obey it." Mr. Bloodworth said this explanation was not satisfactory to him; that it seemed to him to "sweep off all Constitutions of the States." Just here was the pivotal point upon which the Federalists and Anti-Federalists differed in regard to the kind of Constitution they desired. One side saw in the supremacy of the national government the destruction of the States; the other side recognized it as essential to the maintenance of the

Union. The question of ultimate sovereignty, ultimate allegiance remained open until settled by a four years' bloody war, resulting in amendments to the Constitution. Mr. Bloodworth touched the sensitive point and expressed the apprehensions of Southern men by saying: "The Northern States are much more populous than the Southern ones. To the north of the Susquehanna there are thirty-six representatives and to the south only twenty-nine. They will always outvote us." In the same connection he stated the fears and feelings of his people on another then vital question. "We ought to be particular in adopting a Constitution which may destroy our currency, when it is to be the supreme law of the land and prohibits the emission of paper money." Mr. Bancroft says of Timothy Bloodworth, that "as a preacher he abounded in offices of charity; as a politician, dreaded the subjection of Southern to Northern interests." He says of this State, "towards the general government it was a delinquent, and it had not yet shaken from itself the bewildering influence of paper money."

There was grave apprehension that the then existing public and private debts would be made payable in gold and silver. Much was said about assigning securities to citizens of other States and suits being brought in the Federal courts. Mr. Cabarrus made a strong speech showing that this could not be done, and Mr. Galloway called attention to the fact that our securities were at a low ebb; that they were taken as specie and "hung over our heads as contracts." If Congress

should make a law requiring them to be paid in specie, they would be purchased by speculators at a trifling cost. General Davie said that no such construction could be put upon that clause.

A very singular and spirited discussion arose over the clause prohibiting religious tests for holding office. Mr. Abbott had grave fear that the Pope of Rome might become President; while Mr. Caldwell thought there was danger that "Jews and heathens" would accept the invitation to come here and "change the character of our government." Some said that under the power to make treaties Congress might make a treaty "engaging with some foreign powers to adopt the Roman Catholic religion in the United States"; that all sorts of infidels "could obtain office," and that "the Senators and Representatives might be all pagans." Mr. Iredell said: "Nothing is more desirable than to remove the scruples of any gentleman on this interesting subject. Those concerning religion are entitled to particular regard." He spoke at length and with much ability. Among other things, he said: "There is a danger of a jealousy which it is impossible to satisfy. Jealousy in a free government ought to be respected, but it may be carried to too great an extent." He said that he had seen a pamphlet that morning in which the author stated as a very serious danger that the Pope of Rome might be elected President. With the only language approaching humor, coming from this virtuous, wise and thoroughly good man, he remarks: "I confess this never struck me before." In response to a request from Mr. Abbott he gave an interesting

history of the various forms of oaths. Judge Spencer agreed with Judge Iredell in regard to this question, and said that he wished that every other part of the Constitution "was as good and proper."

The reading and discussion of each clause of the Constitution being completed, Governor Johnston moved that the committee, having fully deliberated, etc., report that though certain amendments may be wished for, that they be proposed subsequent to the ratification and that the committee recommend that the Convention do ratify the Constitution. This motion precipitated a general discussion, opened by Mr. Lenoir, who charged that the delegates who were commissioned to amend the Articles of Confederation "proposed to annihilate it." He reviewed its different parts, and in conclusion said: "As millions yet unborn are concerned and deeply interested, I would have the most positive and pointed security." He urged that amendments be proposed before ratification. The discussion continued until July 31st, several delegates, who had not theretofore spoken, taking part. At the conclusion of quite a long speech by Mr. Lancaster, Mr. Willie Jones said that he was against ratifying in the manner proposed. He had, he said, attended with patience to the debate. "One party said the Constitution was all perfection; the other said it wanted a great deal of perfection." For his part, he thought so. After some furher remarks he moved the previous question be put, upon a resolution which he held, expressing a purpose, if carried, to introduce certain amndments which he held in his hand. Governor Johnston

begged the gentleman to remember that the proposed amendments could not be laid before the other States unless we ratified and became a part of the Union. Mr. Iredell wished the call for the previous question should be withdrawn. Mr. Jones declined to withdraw it. He said the argument had been listened to attentively, but he believed no person had changed his opinion. Mr. Person and Mr. Shepherd sustained Mr. Jones. General Davie, referring to a remark reflecting upon the minority, said that "the gentleman from Granville had frequently used ungenerous insinuations, and had taken much pains out of doors to incite the minds of his countrymen against the Constitution. He called upon gentlemen to act openly and above-board, adding that a contrary conduct on this occasion was extremely despicable." He criticised the call for the previous question and pointed out the danger of a conditional ratification. Mr. Jones said that he had not intended to take the House by surprise. He had no objection to adjourning but his motion would still be before the House. "Here there was a great cry for the question." "Mr. Iredell (the cry for the question still continuing): Mr. Chairman, I desire to be heard notwithstanding the cry of 'the question'—'the question.' Gentlemen have no right to prevent any member from speaking to it if he thinks proper. Unimportant as I am myself, my constituents are as respectable as those of any member of this House." He continued speaking with much spirit and ability. At the conclusion of his speech the previous question was ordered by a majority of 99. On the next day the debate continued with

much spirit, as to whether the Committee would recommend adoption suggesting amendments, or postpone adoption until amendments were made. Governor Johnston led in the discussion. Mr. Willie Jones in his reply gave out the plan which he, as the leader of the majority, had mapped out in advance. Said he: "As great names have been mentioned, I beg leave to mention the authority of Mr. Jefferson, whose abilities and respectability are well known. When the Convention sat in Richmond, Virginia, Mr. Madison received a letter from him. In that letter he said he wished nine States would adopt it, not because it deserved ratification, but to preserve the Union. But he wished the other four States would reject it, that there might be a certainty of obtaining amendments." Mr. Jones, conceding that it would take eighteen months to adopt amendments, said: "For my part, I would rather be eighteen years out of the Union than adopt it in its present defective form." Mr. Spencer concurred with Mr. Jones. It was now evident that the end was drawing near and the result certain. Judge Iredell and General Davie made one last appeal to save the Constitution, but Willie Jones and General Person were the victors. The Committee rose and made its report to the Convention.

On Friday, August 1, 1788, the Convention met. Mr. Iredell arose and said: "I believe, sir, all debate is now at an end. It is useless to contend any longer against a majority that is irresistible. We submit, with the deference that becomes us, to the decision of a majority; but myself and my friends are anxious that something may appear on the Jour-

nal to show our sentiments on the subject." He then offered a resolution which he had in his hand, and moved that the consideration of the report of the Committee be postponed in order to take up the resolution, which he read and delivered to the Clerk. Mr. McDowell and others most strongly objected to the motion. They thought it improper, unprecedented and a great contempt of the voice of the majority. Mr. Iredell defended his motion and was supported by Mr. Maclaine and Mr. Spaight. Mr. Jones and Mr. Spencer insisted that the motion was irregular. They said that he could protest. General Davie criticised the course of the majority. After a warm discussion, it was agreed that Judge Iredell withdraw his motion that the resolution of the Committee be entered on the Journal, which had not been done. The resolution of the Committee of the Whole was then read and entered as follows:

"Resolved, That a declaration of rights, asserting and securing from encroachment the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable rights of the people, together with amendments to the most ambiguous and exceptionable parts of the Constitution of government, be laid before Congress and the Convention of the States that shall or may be called for the purpose of amending the said Constitution, for their consideration previous to the ratification of the Constitution aforesaid on the part of the State of North Carolina."

Then followed a Bill of Rights containing the essential principles of the Bill of Rights contained in our State Con-

stitution, with twenty-six proposed amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. Spencer moved that the report of the Committee be concurred in. Mr. Iredell again endeavored to get a vote upon his resolution. "This gave rise to a very warm altercation on both sides, during which the House was in great confusion," Mr. Willie Jones, Mr. Spaight and Mr. Hill taking part. The latter "spoke with great warmth and declared that, in his opinion, if the majority persevered in their tyrannical attempt the minority would secede." After some further discussion, the motion of Mr. Spencer was withdrawn, whereupon Mr. Iredell offered his resolution, which ratified the Constitution, and offered certain amendments, which was defeated by a majority of one hundred. The Convention adjourned for the day.

On Saturday, August 2, 1788, the Convention, by a vote of 184 to 84, adopted the report of the Committee, which was a practical rejection of the Constitution. Eleven States having, at this time, ratified the Constitution, the organization of the new government was assured. North Carolina was, upon the dissolution of the Confederation, a sovereign, independent republic, having no federal relations with other States. Her political organism was intact and in full vigor. She therefore took no part in the first election or the organization of the new government.

At the session of 1788 (November 17th) the Legislature adopted a resolution calling a "New Convention" for the "purpose of reconsidering the new Constitution held out by

the Federal Constitution as a government of the United States." Provision was made for holding an election in each county, at which three, instead of five, delegates were to be elected, each borough town to send one. Fayetteville was named as the place and the third Monday in November, 1789, the time for holding the Convention. Of the leaders in the first Convention, Governor Johnston, General Davie, John Steele, Judge Spencer, Bloodworth, McDowell, Cabarrus, Thomas Person, Mr. Goudy were present. Judge Iredell was not a candidate for a seat in the Convention. Neither Willie Jones, Archibald Maclaine or Richard Dobbs Spaight were members. Dr. Hugh Williamson was a member. The Legislature being in session at Fayetteville on the day appointed for the meeting of the Convention, took a recess or adjournment during its session. Several gentlemen were members of both bodies.

The Convention organized by electing Governor Johnston President and Charles Johnston Vice-President. The secretaries who served the first Convention were elected. After the organization, Mr. Williamson introduced a resolution ratifying the Constitution. This being objected to, the Convention went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. John B. Ashe presiding. The resolution of Mr. Williamson, together with all papers relating to the new Constitution, were referred to the Committee. After some discussion, on November 20th the Committee reported to the Convention that it "had gone through the reading of the Constitution, or plan of government, and had come to a resolution thereon." On

the 21st day of November, General Davie moved that the Convention concur in the resolution. Mr. Galloway objected and offered a resolution reciting that although the amendments proposed by Congress "embrace in some measure, when adopted, the object this State had in view in a Bill of Rights and many of the amendments proposed by the last Convention, and although union with our sister States is our most earnest desire, yet as some of the great and most exceptional parts of the said proposed Constitution have not undergone the alterations which were thought necessary by the last Convention,

"Resolved, That previous to the ratification in behalf of and on the part of the State of North Carolina the following amendments be proposed and laid before the Congress, that they may be adopted and made a part of the said Constitution."

Following this were four amendments. The resolution was rejected by a vote of 82 to 187. The Convention thereupon considered the report of the Committee of the Whole. "Whereas, the General Convention which met in Philadelphia, in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress, did recommend to the citizens of the United States a Constitution, or form of government, in the following words (here follows the Constitution); Resolved, That this Convention, in behalf of the freemen, citizens and inhabitants of the State of North Carolina, do adopt and ratify the said Constitution and form of government." General Davie moved the adoption of the resolution, which motion was, upon a call of the

members, adopted by a vote of 195 to 77. General Davie completed the work by moving that the President of the Convention transmit to the President of the United States a copy of the ratification, etc. Mr. Galloway introduced a resolution recommending that certain amendments be sent to Congress, which was rejected. It was thereupon ordered by the Convention that the resolution offered by Mr. Galloway be referred to a committee and that the committee prepare and lay before the Convention such amendments as they deemed necessary. General Davie, Mr. Smith, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Bloodworth, Mr. Stokes and Mr. Spencer were named as the committee. The committee, on the next day, made a unanimous report recommending certain amendments, which was adopted.

The Convention, after adopting an ordinance giving to Fayetteville representation in the General Assembly, and thanking the presiding officers "for their able and faithful services in the arduous discharge of their duty," adjourned. Judge Iredell was not there to witness the successful completion of his labors to bring the State into the Union; nor was Maclaine to give the opposition a parting shot. Judge Spencer, Mr. Bloodworth and General Person left their testimony on record, voting at all times against the Constitution.

On December 4, 1789, Samuel Johnston, President of the Convention, sent a letter to "The President of the United States," transmitting the resolution, etc. It was filed January 12, 1790. The length of this paper precludes any com-

ments upon the record which it has undertaken to set out. Samuel Johnston was one of the first Senators sent from this State. Benjamin Hawkins was his colleague.

Notwithstanding the adoption of the Constitution by so large a majority, the sentiment of the State in its favor was far from unanimous. We get from Mr. Dickson's letters a fair view of the way it was regarded by many. He says, referring to the Constitution: "I will readily agree with you that a better could not be formed for the United States in general. I think it is formed so as to lay the foundation of one of the greatest empires now in the world, and from the high opinion I have of the illustrious characters who now hold the reigns of government, I have no fear of any revolution taking place in my day. * * * It was a matter of necessity rather than choice when the Convention of North Carolina received it about twelve months ago. * * * It appears to me that the Southern States will not receive equal benefit with the Northern States. * * * The Southern States will have their vote, but will not be able to carry any point against so powerful a party in cases where either general or local interests are objects," etc.

Governor Lenoir, in a letter to John C. Hamilton, written in 1834, says: "Our State had once rejected the Federal Constitution and had finally adopted it only as an alternative less fatal than absolute severance from the adjoining States. Those who had from necessity yielded their objections to the new plan of Federal Union still regarded it with great jealousy."

The most serious fears entertained by the people were in regard to slavery, which has happily passed away. Time adjusted the question of paper money. While the State has not kept her relative position in population or wealth, in the light of to-day we see in the views and opinions of James Iredell, General Davie, Governor Johnston and those who followed them a larger wisdom and clearer view than in Willie Jones, Judge Spencer, Timothy Bloodworth and Rev. Mr. Caldwell. They all served their day and generation with the lights before them, and we are their debtors for faithful service and wise foresight.

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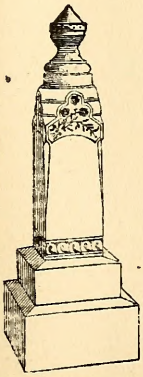
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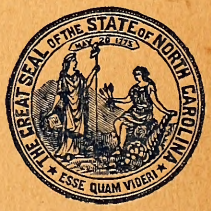
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The article on William Hooper, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, by Mrs. Spier Whitaker, should have appeared in this number of the BOOKLET, but has necessarily been deferred for a future number.

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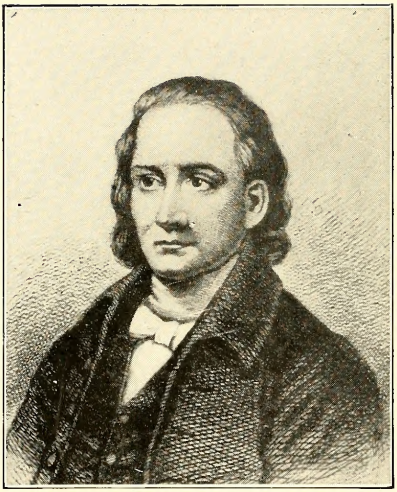
PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

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JOHN PENN.

JOHN PENN.

BY THOMAS MERRITT PITTMAN.

"There sounds not to the trump of fame
The echo of a nobler name."

American history is rich in examples of men who have overcome poverty and humble birth and wrought out for themselves enduring fame. Not many have accomplished the more difficult task of winning distinction, where high station and easy fortune were joined with associations indifferent to education and contemptuous of intellectual attainment. We enter the name of John Penn upon the roll of those who have achieved the higher honor.

He was born in Caroline County, Virginia, May 17, 1741.

His father, Moses Penn, was a gentleman of comfortable fortune, but so indifferent to intellectual culture, according to Lossing, that he provided his only son no other opportunity of acquiring an education than was afforded by two or three years' attendance upon a common country school. He died when his son was eighteen years of age, and is said to have left him the sole possessor of a competent though not large estate.

His mother was Catherine, daughter of John Taylor, one of the first Justices of Caroline County. James Taylor, who came from Carlisle, England, about 1635, was the first

of the family to settle in Virginia. The family was an important one and has contributed many able and useful men to the public service, including two Presidents of the United States—James Madison and Zachary Taylor. Hannis Taylor, a distinguished son of North Carolina, John R. McLean of Ohio and Mrs. Dewey, wife of Admiral Dewey, are among the distinguished members of the family at this time.

Those members of his mother's family with whom John Penn came into closest relations and who most influenced his course in life were his cousins, John Taylor of Caroline and Edmund Pendleton. The first, nine years his junior, is usually spoken of as his grandfather and sometimes as his son-in-law—an unusually wide range of kinship. The last may be true, since the family records show that he married a Penn, but more likely a sister or other relative than a daughter of John Penn. It is said in the family that the only daughter of John Penn married Colonel Taylor of Granville and died without issue. John Taylor of Caroline was born in 1750, graduated from William and Mary College, studied law under Chancellor Nathaniel Pendleton, served in the Revolution, was Senator from Virginia in 1792, 1803 and 1822, and was a writer of much note. One of his books won the heartiest commendation of Jefferson "as the most logical retraction of our governments to the original and true principles of the constitution creating them which has appeared since the adoption of that instrument." Edmund Pendleton probably contributed more than any other to the shaping of young Penn's career. He was born in

1721, and was a scholarly man and able lawyer, of conservative views upon political questions. Jefferson, whom he sometimes opposed, says: "He was the ablest man in debate I have ever met with. * * * Add to this that he was one of the most virtuous and benevolent of men, the kindest friend, the most amiable and pleasant of companions, which ensured a favorable reception to whatever came from him." He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775, President of the Virginia General Committee of Safety. He wrote the preamble and resolutions directing the Virginia delegates in Congress to propose to "declare the United Colonies free and independent States," was President of the Convention to consider the Federal Constitution, and President of the Virginia Court of Appeals. Upon the death of Moses Penn, he gave to his young kinsman, who resided near him in the same neighborhood, free use of his extensive library, an opportunity that was improved to such advantage that the defects of early education were largely overcome, and, without teacher or other aid than his own industry, young Penn studied law and was admitted to the bar of his native county when he reached the age of twenty-one years. But it may be inferred from a playful allusion of Mr. Iredell, "As Mr. Penn would say *'in nubibus'* (extremely uncertain)," that he was sometimes not entirely classical.

Of Mr. Penn as a lawyer, Lossing says: "His practice soon developed a native eloquence before inert and unsuspected, and by it, in connection with close application to busi-

ness, he rapidly soared to eminence. His eloquence was of that sweet persuasive kind which excites all the tender emotions of the soul, and possesses a controlling power at times irresistible."

Mr. Penn remained in Virginia but a few years. In 1774, while yet a young man of thirty-three years, he came to North Carolina and settled near Williamsboro in the northern part of Granville County, then the most important place in the county. Whatever may have been his attitude towards political questions prior to that time, his ardent nature quickly responded to the intense sentiment of patriotism that prevailed in his new home. He soon became as one to the "manner born," and a leader of the people in their great crisis. The year after locating in Granville he was sent by the inhabitants of that county to represent them in the Provincial (Revolutionary) Congress, which met at Hillsboro, August 20, 1775. Here he proved himself more than a pleasing speaker, and won the cordial recognition of the Congress. There were a hundred and eighty-four members, yet he was appointed on some fifteen or twenty committees, nearly all the more important ones, and his work was extraordinarily heavy. It will not be amiss to mention a few of these committees, with notes of their work:

(a). To confer with such inhabitants as had political or religious scruples about joining in the American cause, and secure their co-operation:

"The religious and political scruples of the Regulators were removed by a conference."—*Bancroft.*

(b). To form a temporary form of government:

"This was the most important committee yet appointed by popular authority in our annals."—*E. A. Alderman.*

(c). To prepare a civil constitution:

Mr. Penn was not on this committee at first, but he and William Hooper were added. "Before the body, thus completed, was fought one of the most desperate party battles to be recorded in the civil history of the State."—*Jones' Defense.*

Government of the people, for the people and by the people was a new and startling thought in those long-ago days. Now any fairly good lawyer can write a whole constitution by himself, and would be glad of the job if a good fee went with it. Then a Constitutional Convention had never been heard of, and the very idea of independence itself was held in abeyance, while men wondered what sort of government should clothe it. In January, 1776, Mr. Wythe of Virginia sat in the chambers of John Adams and the two talked of independence. Mr. Wythe thought the greatest obstacle to declaring it was the difficulty of agreeing upon a form of government. Mr. Adams replied that each colony should form a government for itself, as a free and independent State. He was requested to put the views there expressed in writing, which, upon his compliance, were published anonymously by R. H. Lee, under the title "Thoughts on Government, in a Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend." Later the delegates from North Carolina, by direction of the Provincial Congress, called on Mr. Adams for advice concerning a form of govern-

ment for this State. He furnished Mr. Penn, whom he calls "my honest and sincere friend," a letter similar to the pamphlet just mentioned. The conformity of the Constitution afterwards adopted to this letter in many particulars, shows the practical use to which it was put. The letter was afterwards given by Mr. Penn to his cousin, John Taylor of Caroline, who used it in his work on the Constitution, much to Mr. Adams' surprise, who, apparently ignorant of the relations betwen the two, could not account for Taylor's possession of his views.

(d). To review and consider statutes, etc., "and to prepare such bills to be passed into laws as might be consistent with the genius of a free people":

"The fruits of their labors are manifest in the laws passed in the years immediately succeeding, laws which have received repeated encomiums for the ability and skill and accuracy with which they are drawn."—*Preface to Revised Statutes.*

Other committees scarcely less important than those named required able and laborious service, but the space allotted to this paper must exclude them from mention at this time.

The impress of this stranger, so recently from another colony, upon the Congress was something wonderful. On September 8, 1775, less than a month from its assembling, it elected him to succeed Richard Caswell as delegate to the Continental Congress, with William Hooper and Joseph Hewes. In this connection it is stated in Jones' Defense that he was "a man of sterling integrity as a private citizen,

and well deserved the honor which was now conferred upon him." We learn from Dr. E. A. Alderman also that this "was the beginning of a close and tender friendship and sympathy between Hooper and Penn in all the trying duties of the hour."

The idea of the province at that time was to secure a redress of grievances, not a dissolution of political relations with the mother country. Indeed, the Provincial Congress declared: "As soon as the causes of our fears and apprehensions are removed, with joy will we return these powers to their regular channels; and such institutions, formed from mere necessity, shall end with that necessity that created them." But the trend of events was beyond their choosing. No accommodation with British authority was practicable. The end was inevitable, and Penn was one of the first to realize the true situation. He wrote Thomas Person, his friend and countyman, February 14, 1776: "Matters are drawing to a crisis. They seem determined to persevere, and are forming alliances against us. Must we not do something of the like nature? Can we hope to carry on a war without having trade or commerce somewhere? Can we even pay any taxes without it? Will [not?] our paper money depreciate if we go on emitting? These are serious things and require your consideration. The consequence of making alliances is, perhaps, a total separation with Britain, and without something of this sort we may not be able to procure what is necessary for our defense. My first wish is that America be free; the second, that we may be restored to peace and harmony

with Britain upon just and proper terms." Person was a member of the Council. By the advice of that body the Provincial Congress was convened on April 4th. On the 7th Penn and the other delegates reached Halifax from Philadelphia. On the 8th a committee, which included Thomas Person, was appointed to take into consideration "the usurpations and violences attempted and committed by the King and Parliament of Britain against America, and the further measures to be taken for frustrating the same and for the better defense of the Province." This committee reported, and the Congress adopted a resolution which empowered the delegates to the Continental Congress to "concur with the delegates from the other colonies in declaring independence and forming foreign alliances." By virtue of this authority William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and John Penn, in behalf of North Carolina, joined in the execution of the Declaration of American Independence. Colonel W. L. Saunders says: "This was the first authoritative, explicit declaration, by more than a month, by any colony in favor of a full, final separation from Britain, and the first like expression on the vexed question of forming foreign alliances." It may be added that both resulted from Mr. Penn's initiative, as just shown. It is entirely possible that the influence of Penn may have reached across the border and moved his cousin, Edmund Pendleton, to follow and improve upon the example of North Carolina, and offer the Virginia resolution directing the delegates from that colony to propose a declaration of independence.

The significance of Mr. Penn's action does not fully appear to the casual view, but the following letter from John Adams to William Plummer throws new light upon the situation:

"You inquire, in your kind letter of the 19th, whether 'every member of Congress did, on the 4th of July, 1776, in fact cordially approve of the Declaration of Independence.'

"They who were then members all signed, and, as I could not see their hearts, it would be hard for me to say that they did not approve it; but as far as I could penetrate the intricate internal foldings of their souls, I then believed, and have not since altered my opinion, that there were several who signed with regret, and several others with many doubts and much lukewarmness. The measure had been upon the carpet for months, and obstinately opposed from day to day. Majorities were constantly against it. For many days the majority depended on Mr. Hewes of North Carolina. While a member one day was speaking and reading documents from all the colonies to prove that the public opinion, the general sense of all was in favor of the measure, when he came to North Carolina, and produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the majority of that colony were in favor of it, Mr. Hewes, who had hitherto constantly voted against it, started suddenly upright, and lifting up both his hands to Heaven, as if he had been in a trance, cried out: 'It is done, and I will abide by it!' I would give more for a perfect painting of the terror and horror upon the faces of the old majority at that critical moment than for the best

piece of Raphael." But for the action of the North Carolina Congress it is extremely doubtful if Mr. Hewes could have been induced to support the measure. Mr. Hooper was detained at home; so upon a vote at that time North Carolina's vote must have been against the measure, and independence at least delayed.

It is not to be ignored that the first delegates to the Continental Congress—Hooper, Hewes and Caswell—were from the east, "and had not ceased to regard the Regulators * * as red-handed traitors," while Penn must be classed as a representative of the Regulator element. He was the friend of Person and was not cordially esteemed by Caswell, possibly because of that intimacy. Caswell in a letter to Burke characterizes Person as "more troublesome this Assembly, if possible, than formerly." Hooper, Hewes and the men of their party were for what we call the aristocracy, for want of a better name. They "were in favor of a splendid government, representing the property of the people, and thus giving by its own independence and splendor a high character of dignity to the State." They had not learned the truth that men constitute a State. Even Hooper, almost unapproachable in fineness of spirit, in splendor of intellect and loyal patriotism, lacked sympathy and faith in the people. In consequence, his life was incomplete and his power failed at a time when the State had much need of his learning and great ability. Penn and Person, with their party, stood for the people, and had constant accessions of strength with every trial of their faith and sympathy. Governor Caswell wrote

Mr. Burke: "Mr. Harnett * * * I am sure will give you his utmost assistance. Mr. Penn has engaged his to the Assembly, I am told. Very little conversation passed between him and myself on public matters." This cannot have been the fault of Penn, for it is of record that he made advances for the friendship of Caswell. One after another of the delegates to the Continental Congress found the burdens, expense and hardships of the office too heavy and retired. Mr. Penn soon became the senior member from North Carolina. Others became gloomy and discouraged. Penn, more trustful of the people, quietly, steadily, hopefully and uncomplainingly remained at his post and wrote home to Person: "For God's sake, my good sir, encourage our people; animate them to dare even to die for their country."

There can be no doubt that the position of a delegate to the Continental Congress was beset with great difficulties. Under much more favorable conditions the conflict would have been unequal. But situated as the colonies were, the outlook was appalling. A government and all its departments had to be created outright; a currency and credit established; an army organized—all in the face of an enemy ever ready for war. There were also domestic problems that embarrassed the national administration at every step. The Confederation was little more than a rope of sand, and the government had little power to enforce its policies. In North Carolina the militia were not even available to oppose the invasion of Georgia and South Carolina, by which the British would reach this State, until an act was passed by the Gen-

eral Assembly authorizing their employment without its borders. This is mentioned only to show how serious were the problems which perplexed and burdened our delegates in the Continental Congress. These delegates also abounded in labors wholly foreign to their legislative duties. These have been strikingly summarized in Dr. Alderman's address on Hooper: "They combined the functions of financial and purchasing agents, of commissary-generals, reporters of all great rumors or events, and, in general, bore the relation to the remote colony of ministers resident at a foreign court. * * * They kept the Council of Safety well informed as to the progress of affairs; they negotiated for clothing and supplies for our troops. In the course of only two months they expended five thousand pounds in purchasing horses and wagons, which they sent to Halifax loaded with every conceivable thing—from the English Constitution to the wagoner's rum—pamphlets, sermons, cannon, gunpowder, drums and pills. They scoured Philadelphia for salt pans and essays on salt-making; they haggled over the price of gray mares, and cursed the incompetency of slothful blacksmiths whose aid they sought."

Is it any wonder, then, that Hooper resigned and Hewes laid down his life in the struggle; that Harnett appealed to be relieved, and that nearly every man who passed through the trials of the position only reached home to lay down his life without even a view of the morning of old age? None of these difficulties moved John Penn. His courage and

hopefulness were invincible. But he died while yet a young man!

The delegates served almost without compensation. A salary of sixteen hundred pounds per annum was allowed for a time, but the depreciation of the currency was so great that the amount proved wholly inadequate, and it was determined to pay their expenses and defer the fixing of compensation to a future time. As illustrating the depreciation of the money, Iredell wrote in 1780: "They are giving the money at the printing-office in so public and careless a manner as to make it quite contemptible."

The scope of this paper does not permit a more detailed discussion of his Congressional career. It may be added that while he made no conspicuous public display, Mr. Penn's services were highly efficient and useful, and entirely acceptable to the people he represented. Another distinguished honor that fell to him during his congressional career may be barely mentioned: with John Williams and Cornelius Harnett, he ratified the Articles of Confederation in behalf of North Carolina.

In 1777 he was appointed Judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer for the Hillsboro District. He questioned the legality of the Court and declined the appointment with what his associate in the appointment, J. Kitchin, called "inflexible obstinacy." But Samuel Johnston in like manner refused to exercise the same office in the Edenton District and notified Governor Caswell that the bar concurred in his opinion.

Upon the retirement of Governor Caswell, Abner Nash be-

came Governor. He complained to the Assembly that he derived no assistance from his Council, and suggested the creation of a Board of War. This was acceded to and the constitutional prerogatives of the Governor were probably infringed by the powers granted. It was charged with the control of military affairs within the State, and was composed of Colonel Alexander Martin, John Penn and Oroondates Davis. It organized at Hillsboro in September, 1780. The other members had occasion to leave for their homes within two or three days after its organization, and Mr. Penn became practically the Board, and exercised its powers alone during the greater part of its existence. He conducted its affairs with great energy, decision, tact and efficiency. Finally he became ill and unable to exercise the office. In a little while thereafter there was a clash with the Governor, who had become sore over the invasion of his dignity and authority. He carried his complaint to the next Assembly, who discontinued the Board of War and elected a new Governor. There has been some disposition to belittle the Board of War and its operations, particularly by General Davie. But Governor Graham, who was familiar with the records, and whose fairness, diligence and ability to judge correctly are beyond question, views their work very differently. He says: "They undertook the work devolved on them in the most devoted spirit of patriotism, and with a proper sense of its magnitude, and executed its duties with fearlessness, ability and eminent public benefit."

While the Board sat at Hillsboro that village was the scene

of great activity and was crowded to its utmost capacity. Iredell wrote his wife that he and Colonel Williams had to ride out every evening two or three miles to Governor Burke's, and "must have been deprived of that resource if Governor Rutledge had not been so obliging as to stay in town and take half of Penn's bed, in order to accommodate us."

Mr. Penn did not thereafter re-enter public life with any great activity. In July, 1781, he was appointed a member of the Governor's Council, and was notified to attend a meeting at Williamsboro, near his home, Thomas Burke, his old colleague in the Continental Congress, being then Governor. He replied: "My ill-state of health * * * will perhaps prevent my undertaking to act in the office you mention. As I have always accepted every office I have been appointed to by my countrymen, and endeavored to discharge my duty previous to this appointment, I expect my friends will not blame me."

After the war he was appointed by Robert Morris Receiver of Taxes in North Carolina, but resigned after holding the office about a month. He was yet a young man, but his work was done. In September, 1787, at the age of forty-six years, he died at his home in Granville County and was buried near Island Creek, whence his dust was moved to Guilford Battleground a few years ago.

The halo with which time and sentiment have surrounded those who wrought our independence has largely veiled the real men from our view, but they were quite as human as the men of to-day. Mention has been made of the bitter political

differences among the patriots of the Revolution. These developed at an early period. The election of Penn to the Continental Congres was the beginning of democratic representation from North Carolina in that body. The real struggle came over the formation of the State Constitution. The aristocratic party were deeply chagrined and resentful of democratic dominance, and proved sadly inferior to their opponents in self-control. The most eminent of their leaders was Samuel Johnston, a man of great ability and character, whom the State delighted to honor. Intemperate language from such a man indicates something of the prevailing tone of party feeling. He wrote: "Every one who has the least pretence to be a gentleman is suspected and borne down *per ignobile vulgus*—a set of men without reading, experience or principle to govern them." Very naturally Mr. Johnston lost his place in the Governor's Council and his seat in the Provincial Congress; and in the Congressional election next ensuing, upon a contest between Mr. Penn and his old colleague, Mr. Hewes, the latter was defeated. Throughout these controversies Mr. Penn seems to have borne himself with such prudence and moderation as to avoid personal entanglements and command the respect of those who opposed him. Aside from Governor Caswell's petulance and Governor Davie's silly sneer, he was almost uniformly spoken of in respectful terms, even in the free and confidential correspondence of Johnston and Iredell.

It is unfortunate that so little is known of Penn as a man and in his personal relations. At the age of twenty-two years

he married Susan Lyme, by whom he had two children, Lucy, who married Colonel Taylor, of Granville, and died without issue, and William, who removed to Virginia. No mention is made of Mrs. Penn in his will written in 1784, nor in his correspondence. It may be that she died before his removal to North Carolina. Messrs. James G. Penn, of Danville, Virginia, and Frank R. Penn, of Reidsville, North Carolina, are among the descendants of William. A sister married ——— Hunt, of Granville County, and many descendants of that marriage yet live in Granville and Vance Counties, useful and honored citizens. That Mr. Penn was an orator is proof that he possessed warmth of feeling. The absence of controversy marks him an amiable and discreet man. His labors show him to have been a patriot, endowed with judgment, tact, industry and ability. That he was not devoid of social tastes is very clearly recognized by his colleagues in the Continental Congress. Mr. Burke wrote from Philadelphia: "The city is a scene of gaiety and dissipation, public assemblies every fortnight and private balls every night. In all such business as this we propose that Mr. Penn shall represent the whole State." One anecdote is preserved of his life in Philadelphia. He became involved in a personal difficulty with Mr. Laurens, President of the Congress, and a duel was arranged. They were fellow-boarders, and breakfasted together. They then started for the place of meeting on a vacant lot opposite the Masonic Hall on Chestnut street. "In crossing at Fifth street, where was then a deep slough, Mr. Penn kindly offered his hand to aid Mr. Laurens, then

much the older, who accepted it. He suggested to Mr. Laurens, who had challenged him, that it was a foolish affair, and it was made up on the spot."

His fidelity could not shield him from criticism. But as he made no complaints of hardships, so he made no effort to justify himself, but was content in saying to Governor Nash: "I have done, and still am willing to do, everything in my power for the interest of my country, as I prefer answering for my conduct after we have beaten the enemy." Others were more considerate of his reputation. Mr. Burke wrote Governor Caswell, declaring his own diligence, and said of Penn, "nor did perceive him in the least remiss." Harnett wrote the Governor, "his conduct as a delegate and a gentleman has been worthy and disinterested." The General Assembly on July 29, 1779, directed the Speaker of the House to transmit to him its resolution of thanks in part as follows: "The General Assembly of North Carolina, by the unanimous resolves of both houses, have agreed that the thanks of the State be presented to you for the many great and important services you have rendered your country as a delegate in the Continental Congress. The assiduity and zeal with which you have represented our affairs in that Supreme Council of the Continent, during a long and painful absence from your family, demand the respectful attention of your countrymen, whose minds are impressed with a sense of the most lively gratitude."

Neither the county nor the State which Mr. Penn represented with such fidelity and credit have erected any

memorial to his memory. But the Guilford Battle-ground Company, which is making a veritable Westminster Abbey for North Carolina, has been more mindful to render honor. Maj. J. M. Morehead, President of the Company, writes: "There is a handsome monument at Guilford Battle-ground, twenty feet in height, crowned with a statue of an orator holding within his hand a scroll—The Declaration—and bearing this inscription on a bronze tablet:

IN MEMORIAM.

WILLIAM HOOPER AND JOHN PENN, DELEGATES FROM NORTH CAROLINA, 1776, TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, AND SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. THEIR REMAINS WERE RE-INTERRED HERE 1894. HEWES' GRAVE IS LOST. HE WAS THE THIRD SIGNER.

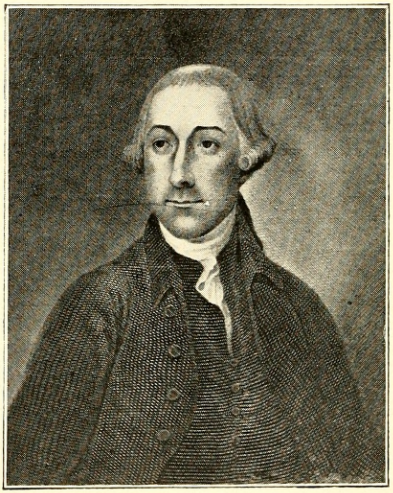
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TO JUDGE JETER C. PRITCHARD PRIMARILY THE STATE IS INDEBTED FOR AN APPROPRIATION OUT OF WHICH THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED.

After all, the value of the man's life rests in its example of unselfish, devoted patriotism, its fidelity to principle, its loyalty to the great spirit of Democracy—in that he lived not for man but for mankind.

"Vivit post funera ille, quem virtus non marmor in æternum sacrat."

NOTE.—A curious instance of the failure of different branches of American families to keep track of each other was brought to light in the preparation of the foregoing paper. Mr. J. P. Taylor, of Henderson, N. C., and Mr. J. G. Penn, of Danville, Va., have been copartners in business for seventeen years. In a recent conversation they first learned that they were kinsmen, one representing the male line of John Taylor, the other representing the female line through John Penn. T. M. P.



JOSEPH HEWES.

See McRee Life of Iredell p. 274 & oth

JOSEPH HEWES.

BY WALTER SIKES, M. A., PH.D.,

(Professor of Political Science, Wake Forest College).

"Particularly cultivate the notice of Mr. Hewes," wrote Henry E. McCulloch to his relative, young James Iredell, as he was about to leave his home in England to take up his abode at Edenton, N. C., in September, 1768. Young Iredell came to Edenton and wrote to his father afterwards that "I must say there is a gentleman in this town who is a very particular favorite of mine. His name is Hewes. He is a merchant here, and our member for the town: the patron and the greatest honor of it. About six or seven years ago he was in a few days of being married to one of Mr. Johnston's sisters (elder than the two young ladies now living), who died rather suddenly; and this unhappy circumstance for a long time imbittered every satisfaction in life to him. He has continued ever since unmarried, which I believe he will do. His connection with Mr. Johnston's family is just such as if he had really been a brother-in-law, a circumstance that mutually does honor to them both." When young Iredell met this man, who was not yet forty, he became charmed with his society and his character.

Hewes' parents had fled from the Indian massacres in Connecticut in 1728 to New Jersey. While crossing the Housatonic river his mother was wounded in the neck by an Indian. The family came to Kingston, N. J., where Joseph was born

in 1730. Though his home was not far from Princeton, he never attended college. However, he received such education as the schools in his vicinity offered. His family were Quakers, and at an early age he was sent to a counting-house in the Quaker city of Philadelphia. At manhood he entered the mercantile and commercial business. Most of his time was spent in Philadelphia, though he was often drawn to New York on business.

In 1763 he decided to move to Edenton, where he entered into partnership with Robert Smith, an attorney. This firm owned its own wharf and sent its ships down to the sea. It is very probable that his sister, Mrs. Allan, came with him. His nephew, Nathaniel Allan, was certainly with him. This young nephew Hewes treated as his own son and very probably made him his heir. This young man became the father of Senator Allan of Ohio and grandfather of Allen G. Thurman.

Edenton was a town of four hundred inhabitants probably when Joseph Hewes came to live there. It was a society scarcely surpassed in culture by any in America. In the vicinity lived Colonel Richard Buncombe, Sir Nat. Dukinfield, Colonel John Harvey, Samuel Johnston, Dr. Cathcart, Thomas Jones, Charles Johnston and Stephen Cabarrus. Hewes was at once admitted into this charming circle.

Hewes was possessed of those charms that attract gentle folks. He was very companionable and social. Very frequently in James Iredell's diary for 1772-1774 such entries are found as "chatted with Hewes and others on his piazza";

"found Hewes at Horniblow's tavern"; "Hewes and I spent the evening at Mrs. Blair's"; "Dr. Cathcart, Mr. Johnston and I dined with Hewes"; "went to Hewes' to call on Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Harnett on their return from the north," and "they played cards all the evening at Mr. Hewes'." These and similar records show that he was a delightful companion and was a center of social life.

His Quaker training Hewes threw aside easily. Some writers say that he quitted the Quakers only when they refused in 1776 to join heartily in the war for independence, and that his Quaker beliefs easily opened the door of prosperity and honor for him among the Quakers of the Albemarle section. This can hardly be true. In 1770 he was present at the services of the Church of England at Edenton and read the responses. He certainly attended that church long before the Revolution. Also in the same year he was "playing backgammon at Horniblow's tavern." These things were not done by good Quakers. Hewes' associates—social and political—were not Quakers. He belonged to those conservatives whose leaders were Samuel Johnston and Thomas Jones.

Hewes' popularity, wealth and influence caused him to be chosen to represent the town of Edenton in the General Assembly three years after his arrival. This position he held from 1766-1776 till he was called to a field of wider usefulness. In these Assemblies he was very active, and at one time. he was on ten committees at least. This was an interesting period in the history of the colony. It was during this

period that the Regulator troubles arose, the court controversy, the taxation problems, and the other difficulties that prepared North Carolina for the revolution that was to be very soon.

Before the meeting of the Provincial Congress to appoint delegates to the Continental Congress, Hewes was a member of the Committee of Correspondence. This was a wise choice. As a merchant his ships were known in other ports. This brought him into contact with the greatest commercial centers of the other colonies. In this way he was not unknown to the Adamses of Massachusetts. Hewes was chosen to attend the first Provincial Congress at New Bern, August, 1774. At this Congress he read many letters that his committee had received. Hewes, together with Richard Caswell and William Hooper, was appointed to attend the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. This North Carolina Congress pledged itself to abide by the acts of their representatives.

Merchants are not revolutionists. They want a government that will assure them the enjoyment of their labors. Hewes was a merchant, but he pledged his people to commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain, though this meant personal loss to the firm of Hewes & Smith. This measure was goring his own ox, but he gave it his loyal support. Says he, in a letter written at the close of the Congress, and before leaving Philadelphia: "Our friends are under apprehension that the administration will endeavor to lay hold of as many delegates as possible, and have them carried

to England and tried as rebels; this induced Congress to enter into a resolve in such case to make a reprisal. I have no fears on that head, but should it be my lot, no man on earth could be better spared. Were I to suffer in the cause of American liberty, should I not be translated immediately to heaven as Enoch of old was?"

Hewes' health was always poor. To go to Philadelphia was not a pleasant journey, save that it permitted him to see his aged mother, who lived probably at the old home in New Jersey. Says Hewes, in a letter: "I had a very disagreeable time of it till I arrived here, since which I have had but little health or spirits." Hewes, Caswell and Hooper were not the only Carolinians present in Philadelphia at this meeting, for Hewes says he dined with Caswell and other Carolinians.

In December Hewes returned to Edenton and the next April found him and James Iredell in their gigs on their way to attend the General Assembly at New Bern, and also that second Provincial Congress which was to meet at the same time and place. Both bodies thanked their delegates for the faithful discharge of their duties. The aged, yet spirited, Harvey delivered the brief address for the bodies. This Provincial Congress re-elected Hewes, Caswell and Hooper.

Hewes and Caswell together proceeded at once to Philadelphia, where the Congress met on May 10. On Sunday evening they arrived in Petersburg, where they learned of the collision "between the Bostonians and the King's troops." Their passage through Virginia was attended with much pomp and military parade, "such as was due to general offi-

cers." They stopped a day in Baltimore, where "Colonel Washington, accompanied by the rest of the delegates, reviewed the troops."

Hewes was in Philadelphia, where, he said, the enthusiasm was great. He was very anxious for North Carolina to take an active part in affairs. He expressed himself as uneasy about the slowness of North Carolina. Though Hewes was sick and hardly able to write, he joined in an address to the people of North Carolina and wrote letters to his friends describing in detail the military preparations of Congress. Hewes was not an eager war man. Said he, in a letter to Samuel Johnston on July 8, 1775: "I consider myself now over head and ears in what the ministry call rebellion. I feel no compunction for the part I have taken nor for the number of our enemies lately slain at the battle of Bunker's Hill. I wish to be in the camp before Boston, tho' I fear I shall not be able to get there 'till next campaign." He prevailed upon Philadelphia clergymen to write letters to the "Presbyterians, Lutherans and Calvinists" in North Carolina.

Hewes was a member of the committee to fit out vessels for the beginning of the American navy. On this committee there was no more valuable member. There were not many merchants in Congress. Hewes' mercantile knowledge served Congress well. This is Hewes' chief contribution to the war of independence. He could not speak like Adams and Lee, nor write like Jefferson, but he knew where were the sinews of war. When not in Congress he was employed by it to fit

out vessels. The firm of Hewes & Smith was its agent in North Carolina. Some vessels Hewes fitted out by advancing the money for the Congress.

Hewes was back in North Carolina in August, 1775, and represented Edenton at the third Provincial Congress at Hillsboro, where he was placed on the committee to secure arms for the State, to prepare an address for the inhabitants, and a form of government. Here he was again elected to the Continental Congress along with Caswell and Hooper.

He returned to Philadelphia at once and prevailed upon Congress to send two ministers to the western part of North Carolina. Though he was very sick, he urged the early increase of the army and its equipment. Hewes fully expected to go into the army; in him there was nothing of the Tory spirit. Said he, on February 11, 1776: "If we mean to defend our liberties, our dearest rights and privileges against the power of Britain to the last extremity, we ought to bring ourselves to such a temper of mind as to stand unmoved at the bursting of an earthquake. Although the storm thickens, I feel myself quite composed. I have furnished myself with a good musket and bayonet, and when I can no longer be useful in council I hope I shall be willing to take the field. I think I had rather fall than be carried off by a lingering illness. An obstinate ague and fever, or rather an intermittent fever, persecutes me continually. I have no way to remove it unless I retire from Congress and from public business; this I am determined not to do till North Carolina

sends another delegate, provided I am able to crawl to the Congress chamber."

Hewes was elected to represent Edenton in the fourth Provincial Congress at Halifax in April, 1776, but did not leave Philadelphia. It was more important that he should remain there. He wrote that he was anxious to know the kind of constitution they had adopted, but more anxious to know how they were preparing to defend their country. In the Continental Congress he was on the committee to prepare the articles of the confederation also.

Hewes spent the year 1776 in Philadelphia. He did not visit North Carolina at all. Hooper and Penn probably did. Hewes was alone at the time the great debate was in progress on the wisdom of declaring independence. Says he, in a letter dated Philadelphia, July 8, 1776: "What has become of my friend Hooper? I expected to have seen him ere now. My friend Penn came time enough to give his vote for independence. I send you the Declaration of Independence enclosed. I had the weight of North Carolina on my shoulders within a day or two of three months. The service was too severe. I have sat some days from six in the morning till five or sometimes six in the afternoon, without eating or drinking. Some of my friends thought I should not be able to keep soul and body together to this time. Duty, inclination and self-preservation call on me now to make a little excursion into the country to see my mother. This is a duty which I have not allowed myself time to perform during the almost nine months I have been here."

Here is a picture of devotion to duty not surpassed in the annals of any country.

The months during which he labored so dutifully, and alone bore the burden of North Carolina on his shoulders, were the days when the great question of independence was discussed. In this discussion there was no inspiration. There was gathered together a band of brave men trying prayerfully to do the right. Clouds and uncertainty were thick about them. The measure had been discussed for months, but the majorities were constantly against it. John Adams, in a letter written March 28, 1813, says Mr. Hewes determined the vote for independence. "For many days the majority depended on Mr. Hewes of North Carolina. While a member one day was speaking, and reading documents from all the colonies, to prove that public opinion, the general sense of all, was in favor of the measure, when he came to North Carolina and produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the majority in that colony were in favor of it, Mr. Hewes, who had hitherto constantly voted against it, started suddenly upright, and lifting both hands to heaven as if he had been in a trance, cried out: 'It is done! and I will abide by it.' I would give more for a perfect painting of the terror and horror upon the face of the old majority at that critical moment than for the best piece of Raphael. The question, however, was eluded by an immediate motion for adjournment."

In the fall Hewes returned to North Carolina in time to attend the Provincial Congress at Halifax in November,

1776. His admiring friends in Edenton again chose him to represent them as they had been doing for ten years. Here he took part in the making of the State Constitution, being on the committee. However, he was doubtless more interested in the preparation to defend the independence for which he had just voted. Hewes was again active on the important committees. This Provincial Congress made and adopted the first Constitution for North Carolina. What Hewes thought of it is not known, but many of his friends in Edenton did not like it. Samuel Johnston was open in his disapproval.

After the close of the Provincial Congress at Halifax, Hewes returned to Edenton, with his health injured by overwork in the Continental Congress. He had expected to return to Philadelphia in February, but the rheumatism would not permit him. He was not idle. He was in the secret committee of Congress for purchasing equipment. He and Morris were the merchant members of Congress, and had much of this work to do. April found him at home but expecting at any time to start north.

The first General Assembly under the new State Constitution met at New Bern in April, 1777. Hewes, for the first time in ten years, was not chosen to represent Edenton. John Green was the member in his place. This new republican Assembly contained many new men. There had been a clash in the making of this new Constitution. Samuel Johnston had led the conservatives and been defeated, while Willie Jones had led the radicals to victory. There was bitter-

ness and strife. Johnston, and doubtless his followers, were partial to Hewes and Hooper, but they cared little for Penn. When the time came to elect representatives to the Continental Congress, Hooper, though no competitor appeared against him, lost a great many votes. He obtained seventy-six out of ninety. Hooper refused to accept. Hewes failed of election, securing only forty out of ninety. Samuel Johnston said: "Hewes was supplanted of his seat in Congress by the most insidious arts and glaring falsehoods." James Iredell said that the reason alleged for his defeat was that he had been at home so long and also that he was holding two offices under one government, being a member of Congress and also a member of its most important committee.

After Hooper's resignation, Hewes' friends felt that he could be elected unanimously, but thought also that it would be an indignity. Only Penn was returned and his majority was reduced. Whatever may have been the cause of this defeat, it looks like an example of a republic's ingratitude.

Nevertheless, this Assembly was willing to employ Hewes, and asked him to fit out two vessels—the "Pennsylvania Farmer" and "King Taminy," but he declined because he was already the agent of the Continental Congress.

During the remainder of 1778 he remained in Edenton, making at least one trip to Boston on business. In 1778 he was still interested in purchases for the conduct of the war. His health was in the meantime much improved. Hewes was probably returned to the Assembly by his old constitu-

ents of Edenton in 1778. Here he was, as usual, a member of many committees.

When this Assembly was called upon to elect delegates to the Continental Congress, Hewes was again chosen. James Iredell wrote his wife, who was an ardent admirer of Hewes, and looked upon him as a brother, since the death of her sister, Miss Johnston: "Hewes will be down soon * * * nothing now detains him but his goodness in settling accounts he has no business with, and which no other man is equal to."

On his return to Philadelphia in 1779 he worked hard, but his health was fast failing. He was never strong, and the trying times of 1776 had taxed his strength to the utmost. He sent his resignation to the General Assembly, which met in October at Halifax, but in November he died in Philadelphia at the post of duty, aged fifty. James Iredell wrote his wife: "The loss of such a man will long be severely felt, and his friends must ever remember him with the keenest sensibility." Hooper wrote to Iredell: "The death of Hewes still preys upon my feelings. I know and had probed the secret recesses of his soul and found it devoid of guilt and replete with benignity." His funeral was attended by Congress, the Pennsylvania Assembly, the Minister of France, and many citizens, while Congress resolved to wear crape for him.

Such was Joseph Hewes, the merchant member of Congress, an early Secretary of the Navy, a friend loved and trusted, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

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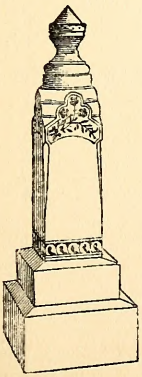
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NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS IN SOUTH AMERICA.

"THE LOST BATTALION."

BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.

North Carolina has always known how to make history. She has never troubled herself to write it. Hence much credit due her is unrecorded. There were certainly "brave men before Agamemnon." But we know not their names nor their deeds. They serve not to arouse the heart. For posterity they have in effect not lived, while Achilles, Hector, Nestor, Ulysses are alive to this day, more truly and more effectively alive, as regards their impress upon the age than most of the men whom we meet on the streets.

There are many forgotten chapters in North Carolina history which if recalled would brighten her fame. Among the many creditable incidents of her colonial history are the patriotism and enterprise shown in sending her troops on the successive expeditions to St. Augustine, to South America, and to join Braddock's march to the Ohio. We will in this paper be restricted to the South American expedition.

The only time prior to 1898 that troops from any part of the United States have ever served beyond the limits of this continent was in the expedition to Venezuela in 1740, known as the Cartagena expedition. North Carolina was represented there, and both by land and sea her troops did their duty.

NOTE.—This is substantially the same article that appeared in *The University Magazine*, 1894. A more complete account of the expedition, by the writer, will be found in *Harpers Magazine* for October, 1896. W. C.

She sent 400 men, a contribution as large in proportion to the population of the colony at that time as if the State were now to furnish 50,000 troops. We know that these men served, that they took an active part in the sea attack upon Boca Chico, and that they subsequently aided in the deadly assault by land upon the fort of San Lazaro, when half the storming column was left dead or wounded on the field. We know that not a fifth of the gallant 400 returned. But we know with certainty the names of only two officers, of these brave North Carolinians. Indeed the expedition itself is almost unknown to the North Carolinians of the present day. It may not be amiss therefore to recall the little that has been left us of this early display of patriotism by the province of North Carolina.

History records few instances of official incapacity and mismanagement so gross as the ill-fated expedition to South America back in 1740, in which perished to no purpose, over three thousand Americans from the colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, and nearly seven times that number of English. Historians have not loved to linger over its details. Hence it is hardly noted in our books; yet it was a stern sad reality in its day.

Six times have troops from what is now the United States visited in hostility the territory of our neighbour on the north, viz., in King William's war, 1690; in Queen Anne's war, 1710; at the taking of Louisburg, 1744; in the old French war of 1755-1763 (when Quebec fell, and Canada passed to the English) again during the Revolution, and in the war of 1812. In 1846 we invaded our Southern neighbor. The expedition against Cartagena is the only case in which our troops ever engaged an enemy on another continent.

The war of 1898 was upon the islands of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines.

In October, 1739, England declared war against Spain. The real object, all pretexts aside, was to open the ports of Spanish America to British vessels. These ports were hermetically closed to all except Spanish keels. The object was no small one from a mercantile standpoint, for Spanish America then reached from the Southern boundary of Georgia and the northern boundary of California down to Terra del Fuego and Cape Horn. From this vast territory there could be excepted on the mainland only the possessions of the Portuguese in Brazil, together with Jamaica and a few of the smaller Islands in the West Indies. The stake was a large one, and England could win only by destroying the colonial system of Spain.

It was a contest for the enrichment of the merchants and traders of England. Small interest had the North American colonies therein. But loving letters and proclamations were sent out calling on them for aid. Promptly on the outbreak of war Anson was sent to the Pacific coast, and Vernon to the Atlantic. Disaster at sea destroyed the hopes of conquest of the former, and turning his expedition into one for booty, and losing all his ships but one, he circumnavigated the globe, reaching home by way of the east, loaded with fame and enriched with spoils. Vernon, in November, 1739, with ease captured Porto Bello and Fort Chagres (near the present town of Aspinwall), both on the Isthmus of Panama, and became the hero of the hour. The following year Great Britain determined to send out a masterful expedition under the same victorious auspices.

In 1740, Great Britain, then at war with Spain, determin-

ed to strike a blow at the Spanish Colonial possessions. An expedition left Spithead, England, in October, 1740, for the West Indies, composed of 15,000 sailors commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, and 12,000 land troops under Lord Cathcart. There were thirty ships of the line and ninety other vessels. On arriving at the West Indies these were joined at Jamaica by 36 companies containing 3,600 men from the North American colonies.

By the royal instructions these companies consisted of a hundred men each, including 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, and 2 drummers, besides commissioned officers, consisting of one captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign. The British government, however, reserved the appointment of field and staff officers and one lieutenant and one sergeant in each company. The total was over 3,600 men. The provinces of New Hampshire, Delaware, South Carolina and Georgia sent no troops —the latter two probably because their forces were sent against St. Augustine (to which North Carolina also contributed men), and Delaware was probably counted in Pennsylvania, it being then known as "the three lower counties on Delaware." Why New Hampshire took no part is not explained.

It was ordered that the American troops should be embodied in four regiments or battalions, under the command of Sir Alexander Spotswood, to whom Colonel William Blakeney was to serve as adjutant-general. Spotswood had served under Marlborough at Blenheim, 1704; had been governor of Virginia, 1710 to 1723, and in 1714 had been the first white man to cross the Blue Ridge—a feat which procured him the honor of knighthood. He was an officer of rare talent, a scholar, and a man of high character. His career was unfor-

tunately cut short by his death at Annapolis, 7 June, 1740, while waiting for his troops to assemble. He was succeeded in the command by Sir William Gooch, then Governor of Virginia—a post which he filled from 1729 to 1749. Blakeney, the adjutant-general sent out from England, was born in County Limerick, Ireland, 1672, and was therefore in his sixty-ninth year. He lived over twenty years after this expedition, to hold Stirling Castle for the King "in the '45," to surrender Minorca (of which he was governor) to the French, after a gallant resistance, in 1756, and to be raised to the peerage as Lord Blakeney. He died in 1761.

The Massachusetts troops were commanded by Captains Daniel Goffe, John Prescott, Thomas Phillips, George Stewart and John Winslow. The first lieutenancies of these companies were presumably filled under the general order by appointments sent out from England and are not named.

Rhode Island sent two companies of 100 men each. The Newport company, equipped in the spring, was commanded by Captain Joseph Sheffield, and the Providence company by Captain William Hopkins. The names of the other officers are not given, but it is mentioned that the first lieutenants of each company were sent out from England.

Connecticut sent two companies, commanded it would seem, by Captains Winslow and Prescott; and in this province also, in the Fall of 1741 and February, 1742, a proclamation was issued to raise recruits under Captain Prescott, who had been sent home by General Wentworth for that purpose from Jamaica.

New York sent one company in September and four more on 10 October. These last were joined by those of the New Jersey troops which were to embark at Amboy (the West Jer-

sey troops were to go down the Delaware River to meet them). On 12 October the expedition sailed to join Colonel Gooch with the Maryland and Virginia troops. New York raised £2,500 for the service and Massachusetts voted £17,500, Connecticut gave £4,000 towards bounties (*premia* they styled it) and the expences of the two companies she sent. Application was made to New York also for recruits in 1741. New Jersey raised two companies, and voted £2,000 and recruits; for they were also duly called for there, as elsewhere, Captain Farmer being sent home for that purpose. Pennsylvania sent eight companies, but refused any appropriation. Of the Pennsylvania troops 300 were white bond-servants who were given their liberty on condition of enlistment, much to the dissatisfaction of the province. Maryland voted £500 and sent 3 companies. Virginia sent 400 and appropriated £5,000 for their support. The captain of one of her Companies was Lawrence Washington, the half brother of George Washington. Lawrence, who was then twenty years of age, distinguished himself in the capture of the fort at Boca Chica, and was also in the deadly assault on San Lazaro, when 600 men, half of the assaulting column were left on the ground. He was fourteen years older than his more distinguished brother.

North Carolina sent four companies. Gov. Johnson in his letter to the Duke of New Castle 5 Nov. 1840, states that three of these companies were raised in the Northern part of the province, i. e., in the Albemarle section. The other it seems was recruited in the Cape Fear section. There is some reason to believe that Col. James Innes of subsequent fame served as Captain of this company. All four companies embarked on transports in the Cape Fear, 5 Nov., 1740, and sailed directly for Jamaica where they joined Admiral Vernon's squadron.

The contribution of money by North Carolina to this expedition was as large in proportion as her levy of men. On 21 August, 1740, Gov. Johnston informed the Assembly of the King's desire that North Carolina should assist in the war. This the Assembly promptly assented to, and a tax was laid of 3 shillings on the poll, but owing to the scarcity of money it was provided that the tax could be paid either "in specie or by tobacco at ten shillings the hundred, rice at seven shillings and six pence the pound, dressed deer skins at two shillings and six pence the pound, tallow at four pence, pork at seven shillings the barrel, or current paper money at seven and a half for one." Warehouses for receiving the commodities were directed to be built in each county.

The forces were united in the harbor of Kingston, Jamaica, 9 January, 1741, under Admiral Vernon. Had he at once proceeded to Havana, as intended, it must have fallen, and Cuba would have passed under English rule and the treasures sent from New Spain would have been intercepted. But with strange incompetence Vernon lay idle till Havana was fortified and garrisoned and then he started east in search of the French fleet off Hispaniola. Finding that it had left for France, towards the end of February he sailed to attack Cartagena on the coast of Venezuela.

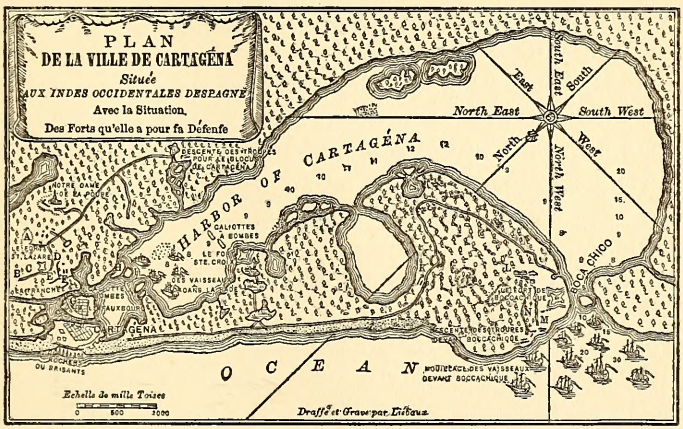


On the way he fell

in with the French fleet. France was still at peace with Great Britain though not very friendly. This fleet refused to show its colors. A fierce fight ensued in which many men were killed and wounded. The next morning the French fleet showed its colors, whereupon the Admirals gravely apologized to each other and each fleet took its course. This is a characteristic incident of those times. Smollett, the celebrated historian and novelist, was serving in the British fleet as assistant surgeon and has left us an accurate description, it is said, of this sea fight in the naval battle depicted by him in *Roderick Random.*

On 4 March, 1741 the fleet anchored off Cartagena, which had three hundred guns mounted. Instead of pressing the attack Admiral Vernon lay inactive until the 9th, giving opportunity for better fortification and re-enforcements to the enemy. He then landed troops on Terra-Bomba, near the mouth of the harbor known as Boca-Chica (or little mouth), and attacked the land batteries also with his ships. In this attack Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, commanding one of the ships was slain. In the land attack 200 American troops, led by Captain Lawrence Washington, were mentioned for their gallantry. The passage, however, was carried 25 March, and three days later the troops were landed within a mile of Cartagena, which lay at the other end of the spacious harbor, which is really a bay several miles in length. The town was protected by the formidable fort San Lazaro. The enemy abandoned Castillo Grande, the fort on the opposite side of the bay. Had there been proper concurrence between the attacks, made by the land forces and the fleet, San Lazaro would have been readily taken, but the worst of feeling prevailed between General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon, and

thus there were two poor commanders instead of one good one, as was so essential to success. The town was bombarded three days, terrifying the inhabitants and injuring church steeples and convents. After repeated demands by Admiral Vernon that a land attack should be made, sailing into the inner harbor Admiral Vernon disembarked the land forces.



Lord Cathcart having died, command of these forces had passed to Gen. Wentworth. The ill feeling and rivalry between Wentworth and Admiral Vernon thwarted every movement. An attack was made on Fort San Lazaro 9 April but it was not aided by the fleet and was repulsed, losing half of the twelve hundred men of the storming column on the field, among them its gallant leader Col. Grant.*

The whole expedition was shamefully mismanaged. The troops were brave but the leaders were incompetent. The heat

*179 killed, 459 wounded, 16 prisoners.

and disease of the climate slew more than the sword. The army finally withdrew but it numbered on reaching Jamaica only 3,000 of the original 15,000. Of these only 2,000 survived to return home. The loss among the sailors was also heavy. The number of North Carolina troops who returned home is not known but it is presumed that their ratio of loss equaled that of the rest of the army. Of the 500 men sent by Massachusetts only 50 returned. Such, in brief, is an outline of this ill-starred expedition. Admiral Vernon incidentally touches later American history by the fact that his name was bestowed by Lawrence Washington (who served under him) on his residence which afterwards took its place in history as Mount Vernon. It is the irony of fate which thus links his name with immortal fame, for few men so incompetent ever trod a quarter-deck as that same vice-admiral of the Blue, Edward Vernon. He was subsequently dismissed from the service—cashiered.

This ill-fated expedition added one word to the English language. According to the army and navy regulations of that day rum was served out twice a day to the 15,000 sailors and 12,000 soldiers. By Admiral Vernon's orders, it was, for the first time, diluted with water before being issued, to the intense disgust of the recipients. He wore a grogram overcoat and the men dubbed the thin potation old "grog." After many unflattering comments upon the leading, Smollett adds "Good brandy and good rum mixed with hot water, composing a most unpalatable drench, was the cause of failure." We, however, can see the cause in a far truer light.

Prior to 1760, the regimental rolls were not preserved in the British War Office, hence we know very little of the distinctive composition of the American contingent. We know

that there were eight regiments of British troops and four battalions of Americans. The latter were composed of thirty-six companies and contained 3,500 or 3,600 men. Of these, it appears from the letter of Col. William Blakeney to the Duke of New Castle of 23 October, 1840, there were four companies from Virginia, eight from Pennsylvania, three from Maryland. These were to go out under Col. Wm. Gooch, the Lieut. Gov. of Virginia. There preceded these five companies from Boston, two from Rhode Island, two from Connecticut, five from New York, three from New Jersey. The four companies from North Carolina arrived last of all. On arrival the Northern companies were to be commanded by Col. Gooch, and those from Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina were to be commanded by Col. Blakeney. On 14 December, 1740, Col. Blakeney wrote from Jamaica that Col. Gooch with the Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia troops had arrived and the North Carolina troops were daily expected.* They subsequently arrived but exactly when is not known. Lord Cathcart died at Jamaica, 20 December, 1840, and was succeeded by Gen. Wentworth. From a letter of Gov. Gooch to the Duke of New Castle it appears that the Colonial companies were placed in battalions without reference to the respective provinces from which they came and were distinguished as the "American Regiments." From an extract of a return of Col. Gooch we find that in the 2d Battalion was Lt. Col. Coletrain "with the remainder of his company, viz.: two Lieutenants, two Sergeants, two Corporals, one Drummer and forty Centinels from North Carolina." This is the only name of an officer except Captain Robert Holton which is distinctively given as being in command of

* 11 N. C. State Records, 42–45.

North Carolina troops. It is not certain that Coletrain was from the State, for in one of the published accounts of that day it is stated of these "American Regiments" that the "field officers were all men of long service, named by his Majesty, and sent from Britain. The companies were raised chiefly by the interest and at the charge of their respective captains; of whom some were members of the Assembly in the province where they resided; others lived upon their own plantations and had commands in the militia; and some few had been concerned in traffic." His Majesty, it is further stated, "sent out thirty cadets of family who were provided with positions as Lieutenants in American Companies." It was charged by a pamphleteer that "the greatest part of the private soldiers enlisted in North America were either Irish Papists or English who had been under a necessity of leaving their own country." This if true of any of the provinces, could not have been so as to the North Carolina companies. Gov. Johnston of North Carolina, in his letter to the Duke of New Castle, 5 Nov., 1840, says: "I have good reason to believe that we could have easily raised 200 more if it had been possible to negotiate the bills of exchange in this part of the continent, but as that was impracticable we were obliged to rest satisfied with four companies," which he further states, "are now embarked and just going to sea."

The most striking incident of the campaign—apart from its terrible mismanagement and loss of life—was the land attack upon the fortifications of Cartagena. General Wentworth, in a note to Admiral Vernon, 2 April, 1741, demanded that a detachment of 1,500 Americans should be landed, under the command of Col. Gooch, to assist him. On 6 April, he acknowledges the landing of the Americans, who took part

in the storming San Lazaro 9 April. This is thus described by Smollett: "Stung by the reproaches of the Admiral (Vernon), Gen. Wentworth called a council of his officers, and with their advice he attempted to carry Fort San Lazaro by storm. Twelve hundred men headed by Gen. Guise, and guided by some Spanish deserters or peasants, who were either ignorant, or which is more likely, in the pay of the Spanish Governor whom they pretended to have left, marched boldly up to the foot of the fort. But the guides led them to the very strongest part of the fortifications; and what was worse, when they came to try the scaling ladders with which they were provided, they found them too short. This occasioned a fatal delay, and presently the brilliant morning of the tropics broke with its glaring light upon what had been intended for a nocturnal attack. Under these circumstances, the wisest thing would have been an instant retreat; but the soldiers had come to take the fort, and with bull-dog resolution they seemed determined to take it at every disadvantage. They stood, under a terrible plunging fire, adjusting their ladders and fixing upon points where they might climb; and they did not yield an inch of ground, though every Spanish cannon and musket told upon and thinned their ranks." One party of grenadiers even attained a footing on the top of a rampart, when their brave leader, Col. Grant, was mortally wounded. The grenadiers were swept over the wall, but still the rest sustained the enemy's fire for several hours, and did not retreat till six hundred, or one-half of their original number, lay dead or wounded at the foot of those fatal walls. It is said that Vernon stood inactive on his quarter-deck all the while, and did not send in his boats full of men till the last moment when Wentworth was retreating. The heavy rains

now set in, and disease spread with such terrible rapidity that in less than two days one-half the troops, on shore were dead, dying, or unfit for service. The expedition was then given up, and the survivors re-embarked and sailed for Jamaica. They were later landed in Eastern Cuba, at a place christened Cumberland Harbor, probably Guantanamo, and strong appeals were made to the colonies for re-inforcements.

Three thousand recruits, part of them from the North American colonies, were sent Wentworth, and he also organized and drilled 1,000 Jamaica negroes with a design of attacking Santiago de Cuba, but this was abandoned. Thus ended probably the most formidable and thoroughly equipped expedition which up to that time Great Britain had sent out. Everything was expected of it. Under good leadership it might have taken Cuba, and have anticipated by more than a century and a half the end of the rule of the Spaniard in that island. Its failure is only comparable to that sustained by Nicias in Sicily, as narrated by Plutarch. Vernon's utter defeat overthrew the Walpole ministry.

It is certain that the North Carolinians were among the American troops taking part in the assault. It also appears from Admiral Vernon's reports that the American Colonies contributed several sloops to the fleet, but how many and by whom commanded is not stated. After his return to Jamaica, he writes to the Duke of Newcastle, 30 May, 1741, that "without the aid of some of the Americans we could not get our ships to sea." Yet he had the affrontery to write, suggesting that the survivors of the Americans should be colonized in Eastern Cuba, as "North America is already too thickly settled, and its people wish to establish manufactures which would injure those at home" (in Britain). In fact,

many Americans, probably sailors in the sloops, were drafted to the British ships going to England.

Thus early in her career, 164 years ago this fall, North Carolina came to the front. She responded to the King's call for aid, with men and means to the full of her ability. Her soldiers served, as they have always done since, faithfully,aye, brilliantly. Beneath the tropical sun, in the sea fight, at the carrying of the passage of Boca Chico, in the deadly assault upon San Lazaro, amid the more deadly pestilence that walketh by noonday, North Carolinians knew how to do their duty and to die. The merest handful returned home. But their State has preserved no memento of their deeds. The historian has barely mentioned them. Possibly the names of three of our soldiers have been preserved. The recollection of so much heroism should not be allowed to die. North Carolina should yet erect a cenotaph to these her sons, to the

> "Brave men who perished by their guns
> Though they conquered not—"

to the "unreturning brave" who sleep beneath the walls of St. Augustine, by the Cartagenian summer sea beneath the walls of San Lazaro, and amid the rolling hills where Braddock fell.

WALTER CLARK.

RALEIGH, N. C.,
10 October, 1904.

NORTH CAROLINA'S RECORD IN WAR.

TROOPS AND GENERALS.

BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.

The following is a list of generals whom North Carolina has furnished and of the various wars through which she has passed.

BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

Before the Revolution, North Carolina, owing to the small number of troops she could furnish, had no generals except those of the militia. She had a severe Indian war at home, in 1711-13, which began with the massacre of 22 Sept. 1711, when two hundred men, women and children in a few hours fell beneath the scalping knife. North Carolina was materially aided in the war that followed by troops sent from South Carolina, her own small forces being commanded by Col. Mitchell and Col. MacKee. In 1715 she sent her first expedition beyond the State, being horse and foot soldiers under Col. Maurice Moore to aid South Carolina against the Yemassee Indians. In 1740 she sent four companies of 100 men each, in the only expedition soldiers from this country have ever made beyond the Continent, to Cartagena, South America. Robert Holton and possibly James Innes (afterwards Colonel in the French war), and Coletrain were three of the captains. In the same year, 1740, she sent troops in the expedition under Oglethorpe against St. Augustine, Fla., then held by the Spanish. Her troops in that expedition, were combined with the Virginia and South Carolina troops into a regiment commanded by Van Derdussen.

In the French war she sent in 1754, the year before Brad-

dock's defeat, a regiment to Winchester, Va., under command of Col. James Innes, who took the command outranking at the time, Colonel George Washington who then commanded the Virginia forces. In 1755 she sent 100 men under Capt. Edward Brice Dobbs (son of Gov. Dobbs) in the ill-fated Braddock expedition, but fortunately they were in the reserve under Col. Dunbar and did not share in the defeat. In 1756, she sent four companies under Major Edward Dobbs to New York in the French war. Two years later North Carolina sent three companies under Maj. Hugh Waddell in Gen. Forbes' expedition which took Fort Du Quesne, the North Carolinians being the first to enter the fort. In 1759 and 1761 she sent a large force under Col. Hugh Waddell against the Cherokees.

Her troops who fought the battle of Alamance against the Regulators 16 May, 1771, were detachments of militia commanded by their Colonels under Governor Tryon who was in chief command. Gen'l Hugh Waddell, who had seen service against the French and Indians in a lower rank, commanded some 300 militia across the Yadkin but did not reach the battle field.

IN THE REVOLUTION—1775-'83.

North Carolina had in the "Continental Line":

One Major General—Robert Howe.

Four Brigadier Generals—(1) James Moore, died in service Feb., 1777; (2) Francis Nash, killed at Germantown, 4 October, 1777; (3) Jethro Sumner; (4) James Hogun, died a prisoner of war at Charleston, S. C., 4 January, 1781.

Besides these, who were regular or Continental officers, the following Generals of Militia commanded troops in action:

General John Ashe, at Briar Creek, Ga., 3 March, 1779.

General Richard Caswell, at Camden, S. C., 16 August, 1780.

General Isaac Gregory, at Camden, S. C., 16 August, 1780, where he was wounded and the conduct of his men highly praised by the British.

General Griffith Rutherford, at Stono, 20 June, 1779, and at Camden, S. C., 16 August, 1780, where he was wounded and captured. He commanded also in the expeditions against the Scovelite Tories and the Overhill Indians.

General William Lee Davidson, killed at Cowan's Ford, 1 Feb., 1781. (He had been a Lieutenant Colonel in the Continental Line).

General John Butler, at Stono, 20 June, 1779, at Camden, 16 August, 1780, and at Guilford C. H. 15 March, 1781.

General Thomas Eaton, at Guilford C. H., 15 March, 1781.

North Carolina furnished ten regiments of Regulars to the Continental Line, one battery of artillery (Kingsbury's), and three companies of cavalry. Besides this her militia were frequently ordered out on "tours of duty". Alone and unaided they won the brilliant victory at Moore's Creek, Ramsour's Mill and King's Mountain, and helped the regulars lose the battles of Camden and Guilford C. H. Under Rutherford's leadership early in 1776, they so crushed the Scovillite tories in South Carolina and in July of that year the Overhill Indians in Tennessee, that neither gave further trouble during the entire war. In the later expedition 2,400 N. C. militia were engaged. They also shared in the battles of Stono, Briar Creek, Cowpens and the defense and surrender of Charleston. The North Carolina Continentals rendered

efficient service at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, at the capture of Stony Point (where they had a conspicuous part), at Hobkirk's Hill, Eutaw, at both sieges of Charleston and Savannah and elsewhere, and formed a part of the garrison of West Point, when our Major General Howe succeeded Arnold in command there upon his treason.

IN THE WAR OF 1812-'15.

Brigadier General Joseph Graham was sent in command of the brigade of North Carolina and South Carolina troops, in 1814 to aid of General Andrew Jackson in the Creek War. General Graham had attained the rank of Major in the Revolutionary War and had been badly wounded at the capture of Charlotte, 26 Sept., 1780. A Brigade of Militia under General Jos. F. Dickinson was the same year marched to Norfolk, where they remained four months and were present when the British fleet was driven back at the battle off Craney Island.

Johnson Blakely, of Wilmington, in command of the "Wasp" rendered efficient service at sea. Capt. Otway Burns was most prominent among the privateersmen from this State. North Carolina Troops were also sent to Canada, where Captain Benjamin Forsythe was among the slain.

IN MEXICAN WAR, 1846-'7.

Colonel Robert Treat Paine, of the North Carolina Regiment and Colonel Louis D. Wilson, 12 U. S. Infantry, who died at Very Cruz, 13 August, 1847.

North Carolina had no General in that war. She furnished one regiment of volunteers—Paine's; and one company to the 12 U. S. in the regular service.

Two Lieutenant Generals, (1) T. H. Holmes, (2) D. H. Hill.

Seven Major Generals, (1) Robert Ransom; (2) W. D. Pender, died of wounds received at Gettysburg in July, 1863; (3) R. F. Hoke; (4) S. D. Ramseur, killed at Cedar Run, 1864; (5) W. H. C. Whiting, died of wounds received at Fort Fisher, 21 January, 1865; (6) Bryan Grimes; (7) Jeremy F. Gilmer, a distinguished Engineer Officer and Chief of Staff of the Army of the West.

Twenty-six Brigadier Generals: (1) Richard C. Gatling; (2) L. O'B. Branch, killed at Sharpsburg, 17 September, 1862; (3) J. Johnston Pettigrew, died of wounds received at Falling Waters, 14 July, 1863; (4) James G. Martin; (5) Thomas L. Clingman; (6) Geo. B. Anderson, died of wounds received at Sharpsburg 17 September, 1862; (7) Junius Daniel, died of wounds received at Wilderness, May, 1864; (8) John R. Cooke; (9) James H. Lane; (10) Robert B. Vance, since M. C.; (11) Matthew W. Ransom, since U. S. Senator; (12) Alfred M. Scales, since M. C., also Governor 1885-1889; (13) Lawrence S. Baker; (14) William W. Kirkland; (15) Robert D. Johnston; (16) Jas. B. Gordon, died of wounds received at Yellow Tavern, 14 May, 1864; (17) W. Gaston Lewis; (18) W. R. Cox, since M. C.; (19) Thomas F. Toon, since Superintendent of Publci Instruction; (20) Rufus Barringer; (21) A. C. Godwin, killed at Winchester 29 September, 1864; (22) William MacRae; (23) Collett Leventhorpe; (24) John D. Barry; (25) William P. Roberts, since State Auditor; (26) Gabriel J. Rains.

Gen. Iverson, for a while commanded a N. C. Brigade, but he was a Georgian. There were many natives of N. C.

not in the above list because appointed from other States, as Gen. Braxton Bragg, Lieut. Gen. Leonidas Polk; Major General C. M. Wilcox, Brigadier Generals Zollicoffer, McCullough, and many others. On the other hand Maj. Gen. Whiting, born in Mississippi, and Brig. Gen. Cooke, born in Missouri, are in the list because they threw in their fortunes with North Carolina during the war and were appointed from this State.

At sea, James I. Waddell in command of the Shenandoah illustrated the courage of his race and State on every sea and was the last to lower the Confederate flag in November, 1865. In the above lists the generals are named according to the dates of their respective commissions—except Generals Gilmer and Rains.

Notwithstanding the State furnished 127,000 troops to the Confederacy it had at the close of the war in service only one Lieutenant General, D. H. Hill, and three Major Generals, Robert Ransom, Robert F. Hoke and Bryan Grimes—Pender, Whiting and Ramseur having been killed in battle. Of her 26 Brigadier Generals six (Branch, Pettigrew, Anderson, Daniel, Gordon and Godwin) were killed; one was on the retired list, one in the State service as Adjutant General, and four prisoners of war—leaving nine in service and four at home wounded, several of our depleted brigades being commanded by colonels and majors and one even by a captain. At the Appomattox surrender (9 April, 1865) the parole list shows from North Carolina one Major General—Bryan Grimes, commanding division, and six Brigadier Generals were paroled in command of their respective brigades—John R. Cooke, James H. Lane, M. W. Ransom, W. G. Lewis, William R. Cox and W. P. Roberts. Another, General Rufus

Barringer, had been captured the week before during the retreat.

At Joseph E. Johnston's surrender, 26 April, 1865, North Carolina had one Lieutenant General, D. H. Hill; one Major General, Robert F. Hoke and one Brigadier, Kirkland; though Leventhorpe and Baker, with their commands, were also embraced in the terms.

To this war North Carolina sent "84 Regiments, 16 Battalions, and 13 unattached companies and individuals from this State serving in commands from other States, and 9 regiments of Home Guards and militia rendering short tours of duty." 4 N. C. Regimental Histories, page 224.

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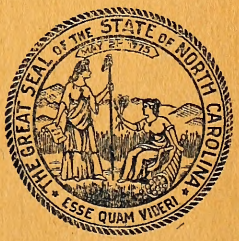
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THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA—A STUDY IN LOCATION.

BY W. J. PEELE.

PART I.

There is a belief among the present inhabitants of Roanoke Island that Amidas and Barlowe came into the sound through an inlet opposite to the island. They say little in support of that view, so visitors usually give it small consideration. A little cape running out from the island into Roanoke Sound, still called "Ballast Point," marks the place where the early colonial navigators cast overboard their ballast; and there, stones from many lands, especially from the West Indies, may still be found. That there was an inlet at the place where they claim and that it was used by the colonial navigators is not doubted, but this fact gives but small clue to determine the point in controversy.

The inlet through which Amidas and Barlowe appear to have sailed, about twenty miles north-east of Roanoke Island, was subsequently closed up and was probably very badly damaged at least as early as the great storm of 1696. Under the name of "Trinity Harbor" it is plainly laid down in both of DeBry's maps (1590), and under the name of "Worcester Inlet" it is plainly laid down in Captain John Smith's map, published in 1629.

I have a piece of this ballast deposited in Hall of History, N. C.

This same storm (1696) appears to have deepened Ocracoke (called in Lawson's map "Ocacock") Inlet. This inlet, or one near it, was called "Wokokon" on DeBry's map of Lane's expedition, the name which the Indians gave to an "out island" (meaning the banks) adjoining the inlet.

The first point of land discovered by the expedition under Amidas and Barlowe (July 4, 1584) was probably what is now called Cape Hatteras—significantly named on Captain John Smith's map "Cape Amidas."

We learn from White's last voyage especially (1590), that the early navigators sailed up the Gulf-stream, in their voyages to Virginia, to gain the advantage of the northward current until they arrived off the coast upon which they expected to land, and that then, after taking a reckoning of their latitude, they changed their course and made toward the shore, still bearing northward, in the meanwhile, and sailing cautiously as the soundings showed that the sea was growing more and more shallow.

Under the "last and perfect directions * * * confirming the former directions and commandments" given by Sir Walter Raleigh himself to Amidas and Barlowe, it is easy to believe that they knew better than to land anywhere near the South Carolina coast, which had witnessed the frightful destruction of Admiral Coligny's colonists by the Spanish only a few years before. So we find the first expedition, on July 2d, in "shoal water" and near enough to the shore to smell "so sweet and strong a smell as if in some sweet and delicate garden * * * by which," Barlowe continues,

"we were assured the land could not be far distant," and it was near at hand, though they sailed two days more before they saw it. Sailing up from the south or south-east and "bearing but slack sail, the 4th of the month we arrived," continues Barlowe, "upon the coast * * * * and we sailed along the same one hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered." Sighting the land from a point, say twenty miles south of Cape Hatteras, they continued sailing along (but now for the first time in sight of) the coast and northward until they found an inlet—passing, probably *in the night,* the two they might have entered or tried to enter if the same had "appeared" to them—and finally entering one some twenty miles north-east of Roanoke Island. The distance as the crow flies is not over seventy miles, but as sailed was probably nearer a hundred, and easily estimated, by one unacquainted with the currents, at "a hundred and twenty." They were strangers feeling their way for a day and night, at least, along an unknown coast, straining their eyes and imaginations to divine the meaning of the long yellow ridge of sand-hills that stretched like a huge serpent before them. The record of Barlowe, and that of those who followed him in the subsequent expeditions (from 1585 to 1590), indicates mistakes more considerable than this, their first exaggeration. Another reason why the first point of land sighted off our coast should be Cape Hatteras rather than Cape Lookout, or any point in its vicinity, is that the very next expedition (that of

1585) and the others which followed found many inlets between the regions of Cape Lookout and Trinity Harbor and "made tryalls of many," and no reason can be seen why this expedition should not have done the same thing if it had struck our coast as low down as the subsequent expeditions did.

The inlets in that part of the coast between Cape Hatteras and Trinity Harbor were beaten through the banks by the prevalent storms from the north-east, the violence of which may well be imagined when, as we learn from Barlowe, the inlet through which the first explorers sailed was six miles from sea to sound, which was the width of the island through which it was driven; and as it may have been diagonal in its direction across the banks, this would easily have made it seven miles in length. This explains what Barlowe meant when he said: "This land [the banks on the south side of the inlet] lay stretching itself to the west—which after we found to be but an island twenty miles long." The indication is that he was not then considering the length of the island which he "after" saw, but the *breadth,* which he could then easily see straight down the inlet for six or seven miles, for he was standing on the sand-banks ("being but of mean height") adjoining it. It cannot be supposed that he could see through the woods for twenty miles down the banks, for they were then well wooded, and, even within the memory of men still living, nearly covered with live-oaks.

White appears to have entered at this same inlet in 1590, when he came to look for his lost colony; and it is well to

note here, also, that his reckoning placed it at *thirty-six degrees* and twenty minutes—only about ten miles too high for Trinity Harbor as measured by our more accurate instruments. He indicates its direction too, for he said the wind blew "at north-east and *direct* into the *harbor*"—the name by which this inlet was often called—"Trinity Harbor" being the full name given on DeBry's maps, but the *"Trinty"* part of the name is not mentioned in any other record. It is probable that White looked down this inlet south-west to Roanoke Island, for he says: "At our first coming to anchor on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Isle of Roanoke *near the place where I left the colony in* 1587." This was the north end of the island, where the remains of Fort Raleigh may still be found. It need not confuse the careful reader that White called this inlet, or the banks adjoining, "Hatorask," while DeBry, on both his maps, writes that same name near to an inlet opposite the *south end* of Roanoke Island. The Indians doubtless called the banks all along there, perhaps clean down to Cape Hatteras, by that name, while the English very naturally used it to designate the inlet or banks adjoining it, or they might logically, or perhaps negligently, have applied the name to two inlets piercing the banks known among the Indians by one name. It is of course possible that after using Trinity Harbor to make their first entry they found the lower inlet better suited for their purposes and adopted it, calling it "Hatorask." If this lower inlet, or the one six or seven miles north of it, afterwards called Roanoke, was,

or subsequently became, the best, Trinity Harbor would have been speedily abandoned with little ceremony and its very name forgotten.

The establishment of this view, however, only makes With's (or White's, as the English translation of Hackluyt expresses it) drawing, "The Arrival of the English in Virginia," all the more certainly a picture of the landing of Barlowe's expedition, as will presently appear, for the boat with the eight or nine men in it is *plainly sailing from Trinity Harbor south-west toward Roanoke Island and the Indian village at the north end of it,* while the record of the landing of Grenville and Lane sets forth with equal explicitness that *they* came through "Hatorask." But whatever apparent confusion there is as to names, the records plainly indicate that the early explorers from 1585 to 1590 all headed for an inlet or *harbor* "well known to our English," near Roanoke Island, called "Hatorask." The name Trinity Harbor, which only appears in DeBry's maps, may have been an after-thought with the pious Hariot, who aided in their preparation, or it may have been given by the expedition of 1584 to denote the religious purpose which our explorers, as well as others of that time, had, or thought they had, in taking possession of our shores. In the prow of the boat shown on the drawing entitled "The Arrival of the English in Virginia," stands a man holding out a cross toward the island and the village. This picture, as painted by John With (White), doubtless serves well the purpose of representing the arrival of either Amidas and Barlowe, or of Grenville and Lane in the year fol-

lowing, or both. They both came to the island through Hatorask Banks and may well have come through the same inlet. The explanation of this drawing was put into Latin by Hackluyt, and the books containing the drawing have come down to us with the explanations. The Latin (edition of 1590), as accurately translated, says: "* * * Entering, therefore, the inlet and purusing our navigation a little way, we observed a great river *making its way out of this region of the aforesaid islands* [the coastal islands constituting the banks already mentioned in the explanation], which, however, we could not ascend by reason of its narrowness and the heaps of sand which obstructed its mouth." The old English reads: "After wee had passed opp and sayled ther in for a short space wee discovered a myghtie riuer *falling downe into the Sounde* over against those ilands, which, nevertheless, wee could not sayle opp anything far by reason of the shallewnes, the mouth ther of beinge annoyed with sands driven in with the tyde." The Latin evidently described Currituck Sound, but the English also fits the Albemarle, as represented on DeBry's maps, *with a bar across its mouth.* While the illustration represents the first coming of the English to Roanoke, and perhaps as well also the second, the *explanations,* both in English and Latin, appear to be mainly descriptive of the second landing on the island which both White and Hariot saw with their own eyes, and the latter doubtless instructed Hackluyt abount Virginia as he did DeBry. Barlowe says that his expedition entered into the first inlet that appeared unto them, while Grenville experimented with inlets all the

way from the region of Cape Lookout to the Hatorask Harbor. If White only made the drawing and Hariot or Hackluyt was the author rather than the mere translator and editor of the descriptions, we can see why he added incidents which did not occur at the first landing. The painter appears to have been using the second landing, which he saw, to aid him in describing the first, which he did not see; for if he meant to represent the second "Coming of the English into Virginia," he would, it seems, have painted the banks and inlet at Wokokon, through which Lane entered Virginia several days before he came to Roanoke Island. Perhaps Hariot or Hackluyt, who may not have had Barlowe's account before him, thought the explanations fitted, or could be made to fit, both landings at Roanoke as well as the drawing. At any rate the old English (see the translation appended hereto) left out what the Latin contains: "At length we found a certain entrance *well known to our English.*" This sentence makes the Latin explanation more naturally, but not necessarily, refer to the second landing, the knowledge of the inlet having been gained through the first expedition. There are other incidents described alike in the English and the Latin which also make the *explanation* refer to the second landing, though, as above hinted, Hariot (or whoever edited the explanations of the drawings which were supposed to have been written by DeBry or the painter himself) may not have had Barlowe's account before him, and perhaps could not compare the details of his landing and the different receptions given by the Indians to the two expeditions.

However these things may be, a casual glance at the drawing itself shows that its perspective is altogether from the stand-point of ships anchored off an inlet about twenty miles north-east of Roanoke Island. From this inlet the explorations are shown to extend about the same distance in the three directions they covered—north, west and south—just about the territory explored by the expedition of 1584. (Lane's covered more than a hundred miles in every direction). Even Currituck Sound, which they could not ascend with the boat they were in, is shown almost in its entirety, and appears wider even than the Albemarle, only the west end of which is outlined, while of the Pamlico just enough appears to show the setting of the island.

The three towns given are Roanoac, Dasamonguepeuk, "four or five miles" west of it, and Pasquenoke, a little further to the west on the north shore of the Albemarle; while Pomeioc, about twenty miles south of Roanoke Island, is not shown at all, though it would have been the nearest town and the one logically they would have first entered if they had come in twenty miles south of the island. *The inlets shown are all opposite to or north of the island;* nothing appears clearer than that the artist did not regard Pamlico Sound as forming any essential part of his picture; and the picture is a travesty on what it represents, unless the coming in was from an inlet north of the island.

Barlowe's narrative, carefully considered, is hardly less conclusive. It says: "After they [the Indians] had been divers times on board the ships, myself with seven more went

about twenty miles into the river that runs towards Skicoak [a town represented on DeBry's map to be near one of the tributaries of the Chesapeake and not far from the upper Chowan], which river they call Occam; and the evening following we came to an island which they call Roanoke, distant from the harbor by which we entered seven leagues." The account of Drake's voyage speaks of proceeding to a "place they [Lane's colony] called their port," the "road" of which was "about six leagues" from Lane's "fort," in an "island which they call Roanoac." This fixes the distance of the inlet, supposing they both used the same, at six or seven leagues. Barlowe continues: "Beyond this island there is a mainland, and over against this island falls into this spacious water [the water in which the island was situated] the great river called Occam by the inhabitants, on which stands a town called Pomeioc, and six days' journey from the same is situated their greatest city, called Skicoak. * * * Into this river falls another great river called Cipo, in which there is found a great store of muscles in which there are pearls. Likewise there descendeth into this Occam another river called Nomopana [which is Occam extended toward Skicoak], on one side whereof stands a great town called *Chawanook*." The great river Occam is the Albemarle Sound; the Nomopana, on which was the town of Chawanook (afterwards ascertained to be a country containing eighteen towns), was what is now called the Chowan River; Cipo was the Roanoke River. The Albemarle falls into the "spacious water" in which, or at the head of which, Roanoke Island is situated, and upon which

the record doubtless intended to say Pomeioc was situated, for otherwise we would be forced to extend the river Occam twenty miles below Roanoke Island, unless the narrator confuses this name with the country (Weapomeioc) on the north shores of the Albemarle.

Another point that may be noted, is that the banks about twenty miles north of Roanoke Island are still about "six miles" wide.

To show that Cipo is the Roanoke, the "great river" (in the language of Barlowe) that falls into Occam, it may be noted that it pours about as much water into the Albemarle as all its other tributaries combined. Lane (in 1586) thus describes it: "* * * Directly from the west runs a most notable river called the Moratok [doubtless so-called from the "principal Indian town" of the same name on its north bank.] This river opens into the broad sound of Weapomeiok [the name by which Lane called the Albemarle Sound and the country north of it.] And whereas, the river of Chawanook, and all the other sounds and bays, salt and fresh, shew no current in the world in calm weather, but are moved altogether with the wind; this river of Moratoc has so violent a current from the west and south-west that it made me almost of opinion that with oars it would scarce be navigable; it passes with many creeks and turnings, and for the space of thirty miles' rowing and more it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich and the Isle of Dogs, in some places more, and in some less; the current runs as strong, being entered

so high into the river, as at London bridge upon a vale water."

Nomopana, the beautiful name of the Chowan, was lost to Lane's expedition, but the "Chawanoke" country on the upper Chowan was explored and duly located on DeBry's map; this substantiates the conclusion that the Occam of Barlowe's expedition was the Albemarle Sound, "the great river" into which Barlowe sailed twenty miles before he came to Roanoke Island. Cipo and Nomopana being fixed as its principal tributaries also identifies it with that sound. The sound once indentified, fixes the location of the inlet through which Amidas and Barlowe sailed, and so fixes the spot of ground on the south side of that inlet upon which the expedition of 1584 landed and took possession of "in the right of the Queen's most Excellent Majesty as rightful Queen and Princess of the same." John With's (White's) picture, therefore, represents an event second in importance only to the discovery of America.

Barlowe's language is: "Beyond this island there is the mainland"—referring, doubtless, to Dasamonguepeuk, the land immediately west of the island across Croatan Sound—for if they had been coming up from the south they would have been sailing up along the continent for about twenty miles before they came to Roanoke Island, and the waters of the Albemarle Sound (instead of the "mainland") would have been "beyond" it.

Again: "Beyond this island called Roanoke are many main islands [those along the shores of the mainland] * * *

together with many towns and villages along the side of the continent." * * * DeBry's map of Lane's expedition gives seventy-six islands, ten of which are "out-islands" (the banks), and sixty-six of which are within the sounds—one in the Albemarle, one where the waters of the Albemarle and Currituck come together; the others, except those in Currituck Sound, are all in the Pamlico, unless we except the few small ones in Croatan Sound. Those in Currituck are not referred to because they are not "together with many towns and villages," for no towns and villages are mentioned in any of the maps or records as being on this sound; therefore those referred to must be "beyond" Roanoke Island *to discoverers coming in from the north-east.* In the Pamlico Sound were shown on DeBry's map numerous islands and many points and peninsulas which might have been readily mistaken for them.

Nor does the concluding portion of Barlowe's narrative conflict with the interpretation above given: "When we first had sight of this country some thought the first land we saw to be the continent, but after we entered into the haven we saw before us another mighty long sea [the water which expands through all its sounds fifty miles north and one hundred and fifty miles south of Trinity Harbor]; for there lieth along the coast a tract of island two hundred miles in length, adjoining to the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances; when you are entered between them (these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more) then

there appeared another great sea, containing in breadth, in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent, and in this enclosed sea there are above a hundred islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteen miles long [Roanoke Island], at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground." * *

DeBry's map shows eleven inlets or "entrances," so, as Barlowe expressly limits the number to "two or three," it shows that he had only examined those next to Roanoke Island—Trinity Harbor, Hatorask and one between them.

One purpose of this discussion is to show the value of White's drawing as an historic representation of the taking possession of this continent by the English in 1584—though it is hardly less valuable if it only represents the landing of 1585. It is passing strange that no reproduction of it on a great scale, such, for example, as the painting on the drop-curtain in the Music Hall of the Olivia Raney Library, has ever been made, either for the State, the nation or the English-speaking people, an event in which all are interested. The artist who will reproduce, on a scale proportioned to the event, in living colors, this drawing of John White, the painter selected by Queen Elizabeth herself, will discharge a duty to his country and his race; will represent the most interesting picture connected with American history, and will show that North Carolina contains the spot on which formal possession of the continent was taken by the English race.

Below is given a representation of the drawing, together with the *explanations* in old English and a recent transla-

tion of the original Latin; also the joint preface of DeBry and Hackluyt to the Hackluyt's translation in DeBry's "True Pictures, etc., of Virginia," and the title-page and an extract of Hariot's "Briefe Report"—all tending to throw light on the "discoveries of the new found land in Virginia"—North Carolina.

THE ARRIUAL OF THE ENGLISHEMEN IN VIRGINIA.

(From DeBry's "True Pictures, etc., of Virginia.")*

The sea coasts of Virginia arre full of Ilands, wher by the entrance into the mayne land is hard to finde. For although they bee separated with diuers and sundrie large Diuisions, which seeme to yeeld conuenient entrance, yet to our great perill we proued that they wear shallowe, and full of dangerous flatts, and could never perce opp into the mayne land, until wee made trialls in many places with or small pinness. At lengthe wee fownd an entrance vpon our mens diligent serche thereof. Affter that we had passed opp, and sayled ther in for a short space we discouered a mightye riuer fallinge downe into the sownde ouer against those Ilands, which neuertheless wee could not saile opp any thing far by Reason of the shallewnes, the mouth ther of beinge annoyed with sands driuen in with the tyde; therefore sayling further, wee came vnto a Good bigg yland, the Inhabitants thereof as soone as they saw vs began to make a great and horrible crye, as peopel which neuer befoer had seene men apparelled like vs,

*Hariot also made a translation from the Latin into English.

and came away makinge out crys like wild beasts or men out of their wyts. But beenge gentlye called back, we offered them of our wares, as glasses, kniues, babies (dolls), and other trifles, which wee thougt they deligted in. Soe they stood still, and perceuinge our Good will and courtesie, cam fawninge vpon vs and bade us welcome. Then they brougt vs to their village in the iland called Roanoac, and vnto their Weroans or Prince, which entertained vs with Reasonable curtesie, althoug they wear amased at the first sight of vs. Suche was our arriuall into the parte of the world which we call Virginia, the stature of bodye of wich people, theyr attire, and maneer of liuinge, their feasts, and banketts, I will particullerlye declare vnto yow.

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH TO VIRGINIA.

(From a recent translation of the Latin of DeBry's "True Pictures, etc., of Virginia.")

The coasts of Virginia abound (are fringed) with islands which afford quite a difficult approach (entrance) to that region, for although they are separated from one another by numerous and wide intervals (inlets) which seem to promise a convenient entrance, still to our great cost we found them to be shallow and infested with breakers, nor were we ever able to penetrate into the inner places (sounds) until we made trials in many different places with a smaller boat. At length we found an entrance in a certain place well known

to our English. Having therefore entered and continuing our voyage for a considerable distance, we encountered a large river emerging from the region of the aforesaid islands, which, however, it was not possible to enter on account of the narrowness (of its channel), as the sands filled its mouth (It: a bar of sand filling its mouth). Therefore, continuing our voyage, we arrived at a large island, whose inhabitants upon the sight of us began to raise a great and awful outcry, because (forsooth) they had *never beheld men like unto us,* and taking headlong to flight, they filled all places with their yells after the manner of wild beasts or madmen. But being recalled by our friendly overtures, and our wares having been displayed, such as mirrors, small knives (dolls), and other trinkets which we thought would be pleasing to them, they halted, and, having observed our friendly disposition, they became amicable and showed pleasure at our arrival. Afterwards they conducted us to their town called Roanoac and to their Weroans, or chief, who received us very courteously, though (evidently) astonished at our appearance.

Such was our arrival in that part of the new world which we call Virginia.

I shall describe to you by illustrations (drawings and pictures) the figures of the inhabitants, their ornaments, manner of living, festivities and feasts.

TITLE-PAGE OF DEBRY'S "TRUE PICTURES, ETC., OF VIRGINIA."

THE TRVE PICTVRES

AND FASHIONS OF

THE PEOPLE IN THAT PAR-

TE OF AMERICA NOVV CAL-

LED VIRGINIA, DISCOWRED BY ENGLISMEN

sent thither in the years of our Lorde 1585. att the speciall charge and direction of the Honourable SIR WALTER RALEGH Knight Lord Warden of the stannaries in the duchies of Corenwal and Oxford who therein hath bynne fauored and auctorifed by her MAAIESTIE and her letters patents.

Translated out of Latin into English by

RICHARD HACKLVIT.



DILIGENTLYE COLLECTED AND DRAOWne by IHON WHITE *who was sent thiter speciallye and for the same purpose by the said* SIR WALTER RALEGH *the year aboue said 1585. and also the year 1588. now cutt in copper and first published by* THEODORE DE BRY *att his wone chardges.*

EXTRACT TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF DEBRY'S INTRODUCTION TO THE "TRUE PICTURES, ETC., OF VIRGINIA."

"I have determined to present in this book true representations of them [the Indians] which (with the assistance of Richard Hackluyt of Oxford, a servant of God's Word, who was in that region and was the adviser that this work should be published), I have copied from a prototype imparted to me by John With, an English painter who was sent into that same region of her Majesty, the Queen of England, for the express purpose of *making its topography* and representing, according to life, the form of its inhabitants, their dress, mode of life and customs—by means of the no small outlay of the noble Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, who has expended very much in examining and exploring that region from the year 1585 to the end of the year 1588. * * * I and my children have devoted ourselves diligently to engraving and rendering of the figures into copper whenever the matter is of sufficient importance."

TITLE-PAGE OF HARRIOT'S "VIRGINIA."

A BRIEFE AND TRUE RE-

PORT OF THE NEW FOUND LAND OF VIRGINIA: OF

the commodities there found and to be raysed, as well mar-
chantable, as others for victuall, building and other necessa-
rie uses for those that are and shalbe the planters there; and of the na-
ture and manners of the naturall inhabitants: Discouered by the
English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinvile *Knight in the*
yeere 1585. which remained vnder the gouernment of Rafe Lane Es-
quier, one of her Maiesties Equieres, during the space of twelue
monethes: at the special charge and direction of the Honourable
SIR WALTER RALEIGH Knight, Lord Warden of
the stanneries; who therein hath beene fauou-
red and authorised by her Maiestie and
her letters patents:

DIRECTED TO THE ADUENTURERS, FAUOURERS,

and Welwillers of the action, for the inhabi-
ting and planting there:

By *Thomas Hariot;* seruant to the abounamed
Sir Walter, a member of the Colony, and
there imployed in discouering.



IMPRINTED AT LONDON 1588.

EXTRACT FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO HARIOT'S "VIRGINIA."

TO THE ADUENTURERS, FAUORERS, AND WELWILLERS OF THE ENTERPRISE FOR THE INHABITING AND PLANTING IN VIRGINIA.

Since the first vndertaking by Sir Walter Raleigh to deale in the action of discouering of that Countrey which is now called and known by the name of Virginia; many voyages having bin thither made at sundrie times to his great charge; as first in the yeere 1584, and afterwards in the yeeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yeare of 1587: There haue bin diuers and variable reports with some slaunderous and shamefull speeches bruited abroade by many that returned from thence. Especially of that discouery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Greinuile in the yeare 1585, being of all the others the most principal and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey beeing a whole yeare, when as in the other voyage before they staied but sixe weeks; and the others after were onelie for supply and transportation, nothing more being discouered then had been before. * * * * * * * * * * * *

I have therefore thought it good beeing one that have beene in the discoveries and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially imploide, etc.

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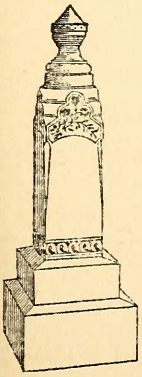
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VOL. IV DECEMBER, 1904. NO. 8

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

RUTHERFORD'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS, 1776,

BY

CAPTAIN S. A. ASHE.

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"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
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RUTHERFORD'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS, 1776.

BY CAPT. S. A. ASHE.

The march of historical events has often been influenced by mountain ranges with their intervening valleys and their meandering streams; and it is convenient before entering on an account of Gen. Rutherford's expedition in September, 1776, to give some description of the territory which was the scene of operations.

While the three great mountain chains trending to the Southwest lie nearly parallel, towards the Virginia line the Smokies approach the Blue Ridge, but South of the French Broad they diverge leaving a wide plateau, high and mountainous, a region remarkable for its fertility and loveliness. Further west, between the Smokies and the Alleghanies, is an extensive valley, some sixty miles broad, running from Virginia to Alabama. It lies like a great trough in the mountain region. The Holston, the Clinch and the Powells rivers rising in Virginia flow down it, and being joined by the French Broad and the Little Tennessee form the Tennessee which continues in the same direction.

In this region was the home of the Cherokees,* whose chief

* The name Cherokee, it is said, seems to refer to "coming out of the ground". In many of the Indian languages the name by which this nation was known is said to have that signification. The old men of the tribe, as reported by Hewitt, (1778), held the tradition that they had lived from time immemorial in their mountain homes and had "originally sprung from the ground there". However, by their language they are now identified with the Iroquois tribes of the far North, and they are thought to have been the Rechahecrians, a tribe that came from the mountains to the falls of the James River and made war on the Virginians in 1656.

strongholds lay to the Southward, and who occupied some forty towns on the plateau from Pigeon River (near Waynesville) to the Hiwassee; many towns in the foothills of the Blue Ridge on the head waters of the Savannah river and a still greater number in the valley and beyond the Smoky Mountains called "the overhill towns." This numerous and powerful tribe had by treaty been awarded all the territory lying west of a line running from the White Oak Mountains (in Polk County) north to the waters of the Watauga, a branch of the Holston; beyond which white settlements were forbidden; and on the other hand, the Indians were not to cross that line without permission.

To the westward they claimed as their hunting ground the territory now embraced in Tennessee and Kentucky. To the Southward, they occupied the North-western portion of South Carolina. In Georgia and Alabama, were the Creeks and Choctaws; and to the Northward were the Shawnees, a tribe that originally inhabited lands on the Savannah, but was driven Northward, and at first located in Kentucky, but being expelled from that region by the Cherokees settled North of the Ohio, Kentucky becoming the debatable land of these war-like tribes and the scene of their constant warfare, and hence known as "the dark and bloody ground."

The Indians had long been used as allies by the Whites in their wars; the French occupying Canada and claiming the Mississippi territory had early engaged them in their warfare against the English Colonists, and in like manner the English had sought to enlist the friendly tribes for their own assistance.

For the purposes of trade and in order to control the Indians at the South, the British Government had for years

employed agents to reside among them, who reported to the general superintendent, Captain John Stuart, a distinguished British officer, who was intimately associated with the Cherokees from 1760 until 1777, when because of the disastrous result of the outbreak he inaugurated he returned to England where he died in 1779. He had great power over them as well as with the Creeks and Choctaws. His agent in the Uppertowns of the Cherokees was a Scotchman named Cameron, who had long resided among them and lived as an Indian, and exerted great influence over the Cherokee Nation. The lines between the colonies had not been established even to the Blue Ridge and all beyond was a wilderness—Indian country,—and the Cherokees living to the Northwest of Charleston traded there and had but little intercourse with North Carolina.

In the progress of settlement the lands of Western North Carolina were well occupied at the Southward beyond the Catawba and at the Northward along the Yadkin to the foot of the mountains; and in 1769 William Bean, a North Carolinian, crossed the mountains and built the first cabin occupied by a white man on the Watauga River, and shortly afterwards a stream of settlers from North Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania pressed down the Tennessee Valley and occupied the fertile lands of the Holston and on the Nollichunky (west of Mitchell county) following the Indian trail and the trading path from the Northward to the Cherokee towns. It is worthy of remark that this valley was a great open thoroughfare that nature had provided in the mountains and it was used as a war path and easy means of communication between the Northern and Southern Indians.

In our day commerce and traffic with its railroad line fol-

low the Indian trail of primeval times, and where the echoes of thundering trains are now heard the war whoops of the Delawares and of the Shawnees resounded in their forays against the Cherokees and the Choctaws and the Creeks. As the settlements on the Watauga and Holston and Nollichunky were within the territory accorded to the Cherokees, that Nation had become restless and in a measure hostile to the invading Colonists; and they naturally looked to the British Crown, with whom their treaties were made, as the only source of protection from the encroachments of the adventurous settlers.

In 1771 there had been in upper South Carolina an insurrection similar to that known as "the Regulation movement" in North Carolina. It was under the leadership of a man named Scovell, and although it was easily suppressed, discontent was felt by the Scovellites against the men who had defeated them and against the measures they proposed; and so when the troubles came on with the Mother Country many of the Scovellites threw themselves into the opposition, becoming active Tories. When the Revolutionary war had begun, in order to induce the Cherokees to entertain friendly sentiments towards the Colonists, following the usual custom a present consisting in part of ammunition was in the fall of 1775 sent to them; and as the pack-horses were passing through upper South Carolina, the Scovellites rose and embodied, and seized the powder, claiming that it was intended for the Indians to use in making war upon them. This led to a hasty movement on the part of South Carolina, in which the inhabitants of Rowan and Mecklenburg counties joined, to suppress the Scovellites and regain possession of those munitions of war.

Col. Alexander Martin, of Mecklenburg County, commanding two companies of Continentals, and Col. Rutherford, of Rowan, and Col. Tom Polk, of Mecklenburg, commanding detachments of militia, hastened into South Carolina and dispersed the malcontents, some of whom fled to the Cherokees and allied themselves with Cameron who was then stirring up the Indians against the Colonists. This expedition, undertaken in December, 1775, because of the heavy snow then on the ground, was known as the snow campaign.

Such was the situation when the British Government agreed to adopt the plan proposed by Gov. Martin, who had fled to Fort Johnston on the lower Cape Fear, for the subjugation of North Carolina and the Southern Colonies. This plan contemplated the use of a large British force on the Seaboard, the rising of the loyalists in the interior, and an extensive Indian warfare on the outlying district which it was expected would engage the attention of the inhabitants so thoroughly as to prevent any interference with the embodying of the loyalists and their juncture with the British troops on the Seaboard. Capt. John Stuart, the Indian Superintendent, who for several months in the Spring of 1776 was at Fort Johnston awaiting the arrival of Gen. Clinton's troops, said in his report of May 20th, that he had been cut off from any correspondence with his deputies, and that he had no instructions up to that time from Gen. Howe or Gen. Clinton to employ the Indians, yet he proposed to use his utmost endeavors to keep the Indians in temper and disposed to act when required to do so. In the meantime the Continental Congress had appointed agents to have a meeting with the Creeks and Cherokees and to engage them to remain neutral,

and Willie Jones was one of the Commissioners. They met with many of the Indians at Augusta and succeeded in obtaining their promise of neutrality; but still Capt Stuart reported that he did not despair of getting them to act for his Majesty's service when found necessary. Later however, the Continental Congress directed its Commissioners to form an alliance with the Indians and to engage their active aid, but before that had been done, the British arranged for the Cherokees and all the tribes from the Ohio to Alabama to begin hostilities against the Western borders. Towards the end of June, fifteen Shawnees were with the Creek Nation concerting measures in regard to the War, and the Cherokees received the war belt from the Shawnees, the Mingoes and the Delaware Nations. It was agreed that a force of five hundred Creeks, five hundred Choctaws, five hundred Chickasaws, and a body of troops from Pensacola together with all the Cherokee Nation, were immediately to fall on the frontiers of Virginia and the two Carolinas. Henry Stuart, a British agent, wrote to the settlers on the Watauga and Nollichunky recommending that whoever among them were willing to join his Majesty's forces should repair to the King's standard and find protection among the Cherokees; those who failed to declare their loyalty were to be cut off by the Indians.

At that period when the Provincial Congress of the State was not in session, the supreme direction of affairs, under some limitations, was committed to the Council of State composed of thirteen members. A messenger carrying the plans for the Indian rising to General Gage for his approval was captured, and information being received by the Council of

the proposed movement of the Indians, General Rutherford was directed to prepare to withstand them. It was at the end of June, just when the British made their assault on Fort Moultrie at Charleston, that the Indians began their murderous attack on upper South Carolina. President Rutledge on July 7th wrote to the North Carolina Council that on the 30th of June the Cherokees had made several prisoners, plundered houses and killed some of the settlers. He proposed a joint movement by which Major Williamson with about eleven hundred men should proceed from South Carolina against the Lower Cherokees, and a force from North Carolina should attack the middle towns, and being joined by Major Williamson should proceed against the settlements on Valley River and the Hiwassee, while a detachment from Virginia should come down the Holston and attack the Overhill towns. But in advance of his letter, North Carolina was aroused. The savages did not delay their operations, but struck quickly.

The Creeks had joined the Cherokees, and together they rushed up the valley of the Tennessee, intent on devastating the outlying districts. But from Echota, the Capital of the Nation, on the Little Tennessee, (some thirty miles west of Graham County), Nancy Ward hurriedly sent word of the intended invasion to the Whites on the Holston who fled to their forts for protection. This woman was a half-breed and a niece of Ata-kullakulla, (the Little Carpenter) one of the most noted of the Indian Chieftains of that period. In his younger days he had visited England, to confirm a treaty of peace with the King, and like Manteo, he had ever remained a faithful friend of the Whites. At the fearful massacre in

1758 at Fort Loudon,* he had saved the life of Captain John Stuart and had secretly carried him to Virginia and arranged for the ransom of the surviving captives; and at this period and later, he was a friend of the Colonists in their contest with the Mother Country. Echota, the capital, was "a peace town," "a city of refuge," and Nancy Ward, who bore the title of "beloved woman," was accorded the privilege of talking in the Councils of the Chiefs and of deciding on the fate of prisoners, and possessed much influence among the Indians; and upon several occasions she rendered the Whites great service. Because of her warning, the greater part of the settlers on the Holston and Watauga escaped from the irruption of the invading savages; but a Mrs. Bean, perhaps the wife of the first settler, and a boy, Moore, were taken alive. The boy was burnt at the stake and Mrs. Bean was also bound to the stake ready for the burning, when Nancy Ward interfered and saved her life.

In the Spring of 1776 the State had been laid off into

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* There were two Fort Loudons; one near Winchester, Va.; and the other on the Little Tennessee at the junction of Tellico River, near where Loudon's Station on the railroad now is, a few miles to the west of Echota. This fort was constructed by the South Carolina forces about 1756 for the purpose of holding the Cherokees in check, and was garrisoned by 200 soldiers. In 1758, after a long siege, it was taken by the Indians; and the siege and the massacre of the garrison and of the whites who had taken refuge there form the basis of a very interesting and meritorious novel, the title being "Old Fort Loudon." The author closely follows the historical account given by Hewitt in his history of South Carolina, written in 1770. It is particularly commended to the readers of the Booklet. It is in the Raney Library.

The writer of this article takes this opportunity to acknowledge his indebtedness to the 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, J. W. Powell, director, for much information.

military districts and Colonel Griffith Rutherford, of Salisbury, had been appointed Brigadier-General of the Western District. He was an Irishman, not well educated, but a man of courage, energy, and a born soldier. At the inception of the troubles, he was Colonel of Rowan County, and year by year he attained higher eminence and rendered more important services, until at the very last he drove the British garrison from Wilmington and freed the State from their presence. After the war he moved to Tennessee and died there.

In the first week of July, while the forts on the Holston were being attacked, bands of warriors crossed the mountains and fell upon the unarmed settlers on Crooked Creek (near Rutherfordton), and a large force established their headquarters on the Nollichunky, and came up the Toe, and, passing the Blue Ridge, invaded the frontier of Rowan, which then extended to the mountains.

The unexpected appearance of these murderous bands in the outlying settlements caused great consternation, and as the news spread the backwoodsmen were aroused to resolute action.

On the 12th of July, General Rutherford wrote to the Council that he had that day received an express that the week before there were forty Indians on Crooked Creek (in the vicinity of Rutherfordton) and that applications were made him daily for relief; and he plead for expedition. And on the next day, he again sent an express to the Council about the alarming condition of the country, stating that the Indians were making great progress in destroying and murdering on the frontier of Rowan County. "Thirty-seven persons," he said, "were killed last Wednesday and Thurs-

day on the Catawba River," and "I am also informed that Colonel McDowell and ten men more and one hundred and twenty women and children are besieged in some kind of a fort, and the Indians around them; no help to them before yesterday, and they were surrounded on Wednesday. I expect the next account to hear is that they are all destroyed. Pray, gentlemen, consider our distress, send us plenty of powder, and I hope, under God, we of Salisbury District are able to stand them; but if you allow us to go to the Nation, I expect you will order Hillsboro District to join Salisbury. Three of our Captains are killed and one wounded. This day I set out with what men I can raise for the relief of the district."

At that time there was a fort at "Old Fort," constructed twenty years earlier by the whites as a protection for the Catawbas against the Cherokees, these tribes being always at enmity. This fortification being on land owned by Colonel Davidson, was in 1776 known as Davidson's Fort; and in it the people of the vicinity found refuge. There was another on Turkey Cove; a third at Lenoir; a fourth at Warrior Ford on Upper Creek, north of Morganton, and several others in the exposed settlements of Burke County, and in these the inhabitants assembled.

The plan of operations suggested by President Rutledge was agreed on and it was arranged that General Rutherford should march to the Indian Country where he was to be joined on September 9th by Colonel Williamson, near Cowee on the Little Tennessee, and together they were to devastate the Indian towns. Colonel Williamson, who had with him some Catawba Indians, besides his force of 1,800 whites, moved with great promptness, and speedily penetrated to the

Lower Towns, about the head of the Savannah River, in the vicinity of Walhalla, which he destroyed, driving the Indians before him. But at the town of Seneca, Cameron and his Tories, the Scovellites who had joined him, and a large number of braves made a desperate stand, but were finally routed and dispersed; and Williamson found there and destroyed, besides other stores, more than six thousand bushels of corn. Having completed the destruction of the Lower Towns, he crossed through Rabun Gap* and hurried to the rendezvous. His route was north, down the Little Tennessee, through Macon County, but being delayed he did not make the juncture at the appointed place.

General Rutherford acted with that energy that ever distinguished him. On the 19th day of July, he had marched at the head of 2,500 men to protect the frontier of his County; for the men of Western Carolina had sprung to arms with zeal and avidity, and were animated by a great desire to inflict heavy punishment upon their murderous foe. The various North Carolina detachments under his command,

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* Rabun Gap, at the Southern line of Macon county, was a natural gateway to the interior of the Indian country from the southward.

It may be interesting to note that the first expedition into the Cherokee country was made by Col. Maurice Moore, who, just after the Tuscaroras had been subdued, led a force of white men from the Albemarle settlement to aid the people of South Carolina, then threatened with extermination by the Indians. He passed up the Savannah river and through Rabun Gap and down the Little Tennessee, and a part of his force went even beyond the Smokies to Echota. That was the route of communication from the south to the Tennessee Valley. Col. Montgomery, in 1758, going to the relief of Fort Loudon, followed the same route and fought a battle near Franklin and was defeated and driven back by the Indians. A few months later he distinguished himself with Wolfe, at Quebec, and in 1775, being a Major-General in the Continental army, was killed at Quebec.

having organized at different points, concentrated at Davidson's (Old Fort). Leaving the main body there, on the 29th of July, with a detachment of 500 men, Rutherford crossed the mountains to dislodge a force of some 200 braves who had established themselves on the Nollichunky, from where they had made their incursions on the frontier.

As it was not until the 9th of September that he was to unite with Williamson at a point only eighty miles distant, he spent the month of August in protecting the exposed settlements and in preparing for the expedition. He was reinforced by a regiment of militia from Surry under the command of Colonel Martin Armstrong, among whose Captains was Benjamin Cleveland, with whom was William Lenoir, afterwards the well-known General, and William Gray, as Lieutenants. They joined Rutherford at Catchey's Fort; while another regiment of three hundred men from Surry under Colonel Joe Williams, crossed the mountains further north and joined Colonel Christian and his Virginians at Big Island on the Holston.

General Rutherford was skilled in Indian warfare and knew the advantage of swift and sudden movement, and the disadavantages of allowing the Indian enemies an opportunity of harrassing his army in the coves of the mountains while on the march. His men were well armed and equipped, and every precaution was taken to proceed with dispatch, and secrecy, and not only to make the expedition successful but to put an end to all apprehensions of any future trouble from the Indians. On the 23rd of August, the Council of State being then in session at Wake Court House, President Samuel Ashe wrote to General Rutherford by General Person, making suggestions, and Person found the army ready

to move, and on the 1st of September it entered Swannanoa Gap and pressed forward. In the meantime a regiment from Orange County, under Colonel Joseph Taylor, was dispatched to reinforce Rutherford, but on reaching the mountains about the middle of August its assistance was found unnecessary, and it was disbanded and the men returned home.

When Rutherford moved, he proceeded with great rapidity and with such secrecy that he passed fifty miles into the wilderness without being discovered by the Indians. His route was said to have been across the Blue Ridge at Swannanoa Gap, then following the Swannanoa to its junction with the French Broad, across the latter river at Warrior Ford (below Asheville). His course was thence up Hominy Creek and across the ridge to Pigeon River; then to Richland Creek (crossing it just above Waynesville) and over the dividing ridge, between Haywood and Jackson Counties, to the head of Scott's Creek, which he followed to its junction with the Tuckaseegee.

All of this journey through the mountains was a very arduous and difficult .performance. Without a road and sometimes without even a trail, he led his army over mountains and across streams, a hard undertaking even under favorable circumstances, and he pursued his way in momentary danger of attack by his wily foe. But so sagacious was he that every obstacle was successfully overcome, and it was not until he had penetrated two-thirds of his way into the forest that his movement was discovered. His men were in fine spirits, and keenly enjoyed the excitement of their march through the solitude of the mountains and were eager to meet the enemy. At length he reached a point only thirty

miles distant from the Middle Settlements on the Tuckaseegee. Here a detachment of a thousand men was sent forward by a forced march to surprise the Indians in their towns and fall upon them like a thunderbolt. Pursuing their quiet but rapid journey, they came upon some thirty Indians who disputed their progress; but after a short encounter the enemy fled, having wounded only one man and killed none. But they carried information of the invasion to the settlement, and when Rutherford reached the towns they had all been evacuated. Without losing time he began the work of destruction and speedily devastated the fields and burnt every house. When this was accomplished he took another detachment of 900 men, with ten days' provisions, and hurried along the Little Tennessee, and then on to attack the settlements on Valley River and the Hiwassee, destroying every town as he reached it.

Williamson was to have met him with the South Carolina force at Cowee, but not arriving, Rutherford proceeded alone. Without an intelligent guide he found great difficulty in making his way through that unknown country and was much embarrassed in his march. But even this circumstance proved fortunate. He missed the usual trail, and crossed the Nantahala Mountains at an unaccustomed place. The usual route lay through Waya Gap, where the trail crosses from Cartoogoya Creek of the Little Tennessee to Laurel Creek of Nantahala River; and there five hundred braves lay in ambush expecting to destroy his army, as they had beat back Montgomery's twenty years before. For several days they had lain in position awaiting his coming, and ignorant of his movement they still waited, while he crossed further down and reached the headwaters of Valley River.

In a brief diary kept by Captain Charles Polk, who commanded a company in this expedition, he says: "On Thursday, the 12th of September, we marched down the river three miles to Cowee town and in camp. On this day there was a party of men sent down this river (Nuckessey*) ten miles, to cut down the corn; the Indians fired on them as they were cutting the corn and killed Hancock Polk, of Colonel Beekman's regiment." On Friday, the 13th, they remained in camp in Cowee Town. On Saturday, the 14th, "we marched to Nuckessey Town, six miles higher up the river, and encamped. On Sunday, the 15th, one of Captain Irwin's men was buried in Nuckessey Town. On Monday, the 16th, we marched five miles—this day with a detachment of 1,200 men, for the valley towns, and encamped on the waters of Tennessee River. Mr. Hall preached a sermon last Sunday; in time of the sermon the express we sent to the South army returned. On Tuesday, the 17th, we marched six miles and arrived at a town called Nowee, about 12 o'clock; three guns were fired at Robert Harris, of Mecklenburg, by the Indians, said Harris being the rear of the army. We marched one mile from Nowee and encamped on the side of a steep mountain without any fire. (C. L. Hunter's sketches of W. N. C., p. 189.)

His route seems to have been southward of the present town of Whittier, and down Cowee Creek to the waters of Little Tennessee in the present county of Macon, and then across to Valley River. Every town upon the Tuckaseegee and the upper part of Little Tennessee, thirty-six towns in all, were destroyed, the corn cut down or trampled under

* Doubtless "Tuckaseegee".

the hoofs of stock driven into the fields for that purpose, and the stock itself killed or carried off. His army ascended Cartoogaja Creek, west from the present town of Franklin, to the Nantahala Mountains; and from the Nantahala (about Jarrett Station) the route lay across the mountains into the present county of Cherokee to Valley River, and down the Valley River to the Hiwassee, at the site of the present town of Murphey. The Indian braves being away, the towns on Valley River were destroyed each in turn, and it was as if a besom of destruction had swept over those settlements, so sudden and rapid was Rutherford's movement and so destructive his action. Two days after Rutherford's army had escaped falling into the ambuscade prepared for them at Waya Gap, Colonel Williamson with the South Carolina troops hurrying on and crossing by the usual trail, notwithstanding he had Catawba Indians as scouts, fell into the trap and lost twelve killed and twenty wounded. The Indians, however, suffered still more heavily and were finally put to rout. In destroying the Valley towns General Rutherford killed twelve Indians and captured nine, and he also took seven white men, from whom he got four negroes, considerable stock and leather and about one hundred weight of gunpowder and a ton of lead which they were conveying to Mobile. His own loss was slight. On the whole expedition he lost but three men. (Vol. 10, Col. Records, p. 861.) He had the good fortune to avoid a pitched battle, and with great skill he moved with such celerity that he was attacked but once on the route, and then only by some thirty Indians.

It will be seen that his operations were entirely within the limits of the present State of North Carolina; still the Valley settlements were so distant that at that time it was a very

arduous undertaking for Rutherford to lead his expedition through the unbroken forests of the mountains to the banks of the Hiwassee.

It had been expected that the two armies would unite on the 9th of September on the Little Tennessee, but Williamson being delayed, Rutherford crossed the Nantahala Mountains, and it was not until the 26th that Colonel Williamson effected a junction with Rutherford's force on the Hiwassee. The work had then been done. All the towns, the corn and everything else that might be of service to the Indians of that region had been entirely destroyed, and the Valley settlement was obliterated.

A fortnight after General Rutherford had begun his march, the Council of State, which had adjourned from Wake Court House to Salisbury so as to be nearer the scene of operations, sent Colonel Avery, provided with an escort, to confer with the General and to carry directions that he should, after destroying the towns, erect some forts in the Indian Country and send a detachment to assist Colonel Christian in his operations against the Overhill towns, and on his return he should cut a road through the mountains for future use.

On the arrival of Colonel Williamson's force a conference of officers was held and the subject of assisting Colonel Christian was considered, but it was deemed utterly impracticable to cross the Smoky Mountains, for the gap through those mountains was found to be impassable for an army in case of opposition; and it was agreed that having expelled the Indians and accomplished all they could they should return home.

Their work indeed had been fully performed. As the

army advanced every house in every settlement had been burned, ninety houses in one town alone, and the fields were utterly devastated. The Indians were driven, homeless refugees without food or raiment, save what they wore, into the dark recesses of the Nantahala, or to more remote localities beyond the mountains. Some sought shelter at the Overhill towns, but the greater number turned to the southwest and found a temporary home on the Coosawatchee River with the Creeks, and others made their painful way to their British allies in Florida, where 500 of them were received and supplied with food during that winter. Indeed the effect upon the Cherokees of this invasion by more than 4,000 well armed men was appalling. Nearly all of their towns and possessions east of the Smokies were effaced; and desolate wanderers they were, fugitives and outcasts, like wild animals without shelter and dependent on acorns and chestnuts and wild game for subsistence. Satisfied with the result of their operations, which had been so well conducted that there had been but little loss of life, Williamson and Rutherford now turned their faces homeward. Rutherford on his return pursued the same route by which he had advanced, and the road he cut through the mountains has since been known as "Rutherford's Trace." The time occupied was rather more than a month, and he reached Salisbury early in October and attended the meeting of the Provincial Congress, which met on the 12th of November at Halifax, he being an important member of that body.

Further to the northward Colonel William Christian assembled his men on the Holston in August, there being among them the regiment from Surry County under Colonel Joseph Williams, Colonel Love and Major Winston. He pressed

cautiously along the great Indian war path to the crossing of the French Broad, and then advanced without opposition to the Little Tennessee, where early in November he was proceeding to destroy the towns one after the other. So swift and strong had been the action of the Colonists that the Indians, unable to resist, now sought terms of peace; and Colonel Christian was the more willing to be lenient as he hoped to draw their trade to Virginia and away from South Carolina. He sent out some runners, and several of the head men came into his camp and agreed to surrender all their prisoners and to cede to the whites all the disputed territory occupied in the Tennessee settlements. On their solemn promise that such a treaty should be made when the tribe could be assembled, Christian suspended hostilities and withdrew his force. An exception was made, however, as to two towns, especially the town of Tuskeegee, which had been concerned in the burning of the Moore boy who was captured along with Mrs. Bean, which was destroyed; but the peace town of Echota was not molested.

Colonel Williams was not pleased with Colonel Christian's action. From Citico town on the Little Tennessee under date of the 6th of November, 1776, he wrote to the President of the Congress as follows: "Agreeable to instructions from General Rutherford, I marched three hundred men from Surry County and joined the Virginians against the Overhill Cherokee Indians, the whole commanded by Colonel William Christian. We arrived in Tomotly (one of their towns) the 18th ultimo, and have been lying in their towns till this day; nothing done except burning five of their towns, and patched up a kind of peace (a copy of which you have en-

closed). I propose waiting on you myself as soon as I return to North Carolina, at which time will endeavor to give a more particular account. I have this day obtained leave to return with my battalion."

Another letter from him to the Congress from Surry County, dated the 22nd of November, says: "I sent a copy of the articles of peace; I now send you a copy of a letter from Colonel Christian to Colonel Russell; both of which are convincing proof to me that some of the Virginia gentlemen are desirous of having the Cherokees under their protection, which I humbly conceive is not their right, as almost the whole of the Cherokee Country lies in the limits of North Carolina and ought, I think, to be under their protection, and hope will be the opinion of every member belonging to this State. As our frontiers are inhabited far beyond where the Colony line is extended, in order to avoid further disputes, it would be well for commissioners to be appointed from each Colony and have the line extended, otherwise by all probability there will be great contentions in our frontiers."

By a treaty made in South Carolina, the following May, the Lower Cherokees surrendered all their remaining territory in South Carolina, except a narrow strip, and in July by treaty at the Long Island, as had been arranged by Colonel Christian, the Middle and Upper Cherokees ceded all their possessions east of the Blue Ridge, together with all the disputed territory on the Watauga, Nollichunky, Upper Holston and New River; and an agent was appointed to represent the whites and to reside at Echota and prevent any movements unfriendly to the American cause.

General Rutherford reached Salisbury early in October,

and to destroy some towns not in his route, and perhaps to aid Colonel Christian, then beyond the Smokies in the Tennessee Valley, he directed Captain William Moore to collect his company of Light Horse and to join Captain Harden of the Tryon Troops, and to return into the Indian Country. Captain Moore's account of this expedition has been preserved. (Vol. 10, Col. Records.) The entire force numbered about one hundred horsemen. They left Cathey's Fort on the 29th of October and pushed on down to the Tuckaseegee River, but on arriving at the Tuskaseegee and in the vicinity of the town of Too Cowee (which was situated over the Cowee Mountain on the exact ground recently occupied by the residence of Hon. W. H. Thomas, for many years the Senator from Jackson County and well known as the Chief of the Cherokee Tribe), Moore pressed on with great vigor, hoping to reach the town before night. But the distance proved greater than he expected, and he did not reach it until next morning. The enemy having become alarmed had all fled, and the town, consisting of twenty-five houses, was destroyed, together with the orchards and fields of the Indians. The location of this settlement is said to be just above the present railroad bridge of Whittier in Swain County. A detachment left the main body and pursued the fugitives northward on the other side of the river to Oconaluftee River and Soco Creek. This detachment was under Captain Moore, and after many experiences it finally crossed "a prodigious mountain where it felt a severe shock of an earthquake," and then steered a course east and south two days through "prodigious mountains which were almost impassable and struck the road in Richland Creek Mountains and returned to Pigeon River."

The murderous warfare of the savages begot a similar spirit of fierce revenge on the part of the hardy spirits who had to struggle with them in the distant mountains, and the life of an Indian was seldom spared unless for the purpose of converting him into a slave. The whites practiced the art of scalping with equal skill as the Red Man, and boasted of their prowess by exhibiting their bloody scalps. When Captain William Moore's horsemen were returning and arrived at Pigeon River, a dispute arose between him and the whole body of officers and men concerning the sale of the prisoners. He deemed it his duty to submit the question to the Congress whether they should be sold as slaves or not, but "the greater part swore bloodily that if they were not sold slaves upon the spot, they would kill and scalp them immediately," upon which the Captain was obliged to give way. In his report, he says: "The three prisoners were sold for 242 pounds, while the whole amount of plunder amounted to above eleven hundred pounds." "Our men," he adds, "were very spirited and eager for action, and were very desirous that your Honor would order them upon a second expedition."*

The following relative to General Rutherford may be of interest: The Rutherfords were originally Scotch, and for centuries they were classed among the most ancient and powerful families in Teviotdale, on the borders of England. One of the most distinguished of the name was Rev. Samuel Rutherford, who, in 1644, published his "Lex Rex," which gives him a prominent place among the early writers on Constitu-

* Moore's report is sometimes improperly quoted as giving an account of Rutherford's expedition. Moore's expedition was a subsequent foray into the Indian country.

tional Laws. On the Restoration this work was ordered to be burnt and he was charged with high treason, but died in 1661 before he was brought to trial. Later some members of his family removed from Scotland to Ireland, where John Rutherford married a Miss Griffith, a lady from Wales. Their son, Griffith Rutherford, sailed from Ireland to America in 1739, accompanied by his wife and their only son, Griffith, then about eight years of age. The parents died either on the voyage or soon after their arrival, and young Griffith Rutherford fell to the care of an old German couple. He came to Rowan county, North Carolina, probably about 1753, along with the early settlers, being then about 22 years of age.

In 1756 he purchased from James Lynn two tracts of land on the south fork of Grant's Creek, about seven miles southwest of the little settlement of Salisbury, and adjoining the land of James Graham, whose sister, Elizabeth, he married about that time. Their son, James Rutherford, killed at the Battle of Eutaw, was a Major in 1780 and was born probably in 1757. Although General Rutherford's education was not a finished one, it was not so deficient as to be a hindrance to him in public life. His association was with the best people of his section and his residence was in the center of the Locke settlement.

A man of strong character, resolute and determined and of unusual capacity and sterling worth, he early attained a position of prominence. He was a member of the Assembly as early as 1769, and about that time, perhaps earlier, he was Sheriff of Rowan County. He was in the Assembly of 1770 and 1771, and at that time was Captain of his militia company from his section of Rowan.

When in 1771 the Regulators of Rowan County questioned the legality of the fees taken by the officers of that county, Rutherford and Frohawk and Alexander Martin and other officers agreed to refer the matters in dispute to a committee of prominent citizens, some being chosen from among the leaders of the Regulation and others so respectable as to have the entire confidence of the people, such as Matthew Locke and Thomas Person. This agreement was entered into at Salisbury on March 7, 1771, and was entirely satisfactory to both officers and the people, and if it had not been interfered with, but had been carried into effect, it probably would have been the entire solution of the questions then agitating the people. But Governor Tryon disapproved of it as being unconstitutional and pressed forward his military movement that resulted in the Battle of Alamance. Rutherford, being Captain of the militia company, was active in enforcing law and order and restraining the excesses of the Regulators, and he led his company into General Waddell's camp, but it was by his advice that Waddell retired before the Regulation forces and avoided a battle with the people. Immediately after the Battle of Alamance he, along with Waddell's other troops joined Tryon's army and he continued on that service as long as necessary. Yet it is to be observed that if the course agreed upon by Rutherford in March had been adhered to and not disallowed by Governor Tryon, the Regulators would probably have been entirely satisfied and the country pacified, and there would have been no conflict and no necessity to resort to force in order to maintain law and the authority of government.

The people continued to elect Rutherford to represent them in the Assembly, and he was a member in the Legislature of

1773 and 1774, and he was elected a member of the Provincial Congress of 1775 and was appointed a member of the Committee of Safety for Rowan County, and Colonel of that county. He was in all the subsequent Provincial Congresses and assisted in forming the State Constitution. Indeed, for years he had been one of the prominent and strong men in the Legislature, active and always forward in important business. In April, 1776, he was appointed Brigadier General for the Western District, and was Senator from Rowan from 1777 to 1786, except when a prisoner of war in 1781 and 1782.

During the Revolution he was among the most active and enterprising military men in the State. He led the Rowan Regiment to South Carolina against the Scovellite Tories in the "Snow Campaign" in December, 1775, and conducted the expedition against the Indians in September, 1776. The following years quiet reigned in North Carolina, but in 1779 he carried his brigade to the Savannah to the aid of General Lincoln; and in June, 1780, he suppressed the Tories at Ramseur's Mills and threatened Lord Rawdon in South Carolina, and dispersed the Tories on the Yadkin. Indeed, he was ever a terror to the disaffected and maintained the authority of the State with great activity. He marched with Gates to Camden, where he fell badly wounded, and being taken prisoner was confined at St. Augustine. In the summer of 1781 he was exchanged, and at once calling his brigade together, he resolutely marched against Major Craig at Wilmington. On his way, he drove the Tories before him, and about the middle of November, approached the town; but Major Craig had then heard of the surrender of Cornwallis,

and he hurriedly evacuated Wilmington, retired from the Cape Fear and escaped.

In 1786 General Rutherford moved to Tennessee, where he settled in Sumner County, and in 1794, upon the organization of the territory south of the Ohio, President Washington appointed him a member of the Legislative Council for the Goverment of the "Territory of the United States South of the Ohio," and he was elected President of that body. Six years later, in 1800, he died at his home in Sumner County, much lamented in Tennessee. His son, John Rutherford, married a daughter of Matthew Locke, the founder of the Locke family of Rowan County, and Mrs. E. A. Long, of Memphis, Tenn., is one of his descendants.

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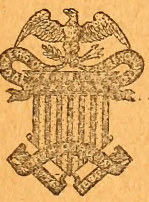
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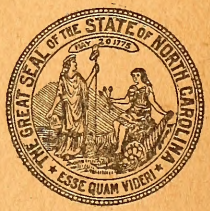


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SOME CHANGES IN THE NORTH CAROLINA COAST SINCE 1585.*

BY COLLIER COBB, F. G. S. A.,

(Professor of Geology. University of North Carolina.)

From earliest times the coast of North Carolina has been the dread of mariners. All students of our history are familiar with the *fac similes* of DeBry's map of "The Arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia, 1584," from Hariot's "Account of Virginia," in which a wrecked vessel marks the entrance to every inlet. Wrecks are characteristic features of all the early maps of our coast, with only two exceptions; viz., that made by John White, artist to the Raleigh Colony, in 1585, now in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum; and DeBry's map of Lane's expedition. Hardly an August or a December passes that the papers do not tell us of stately ships and ocean steamers stranded on the Inner Diamond Shoals, or gone to the bottom of "Hell's Hole" in this "Graveyard of American Shipping." And numerous smaller sailing craft and fishing sloops go down within the bars that mark our outer coast-line.

Through which inlet the English adventurers of 1584 entered the sounds of North Carolina, has been the theme of much discussion from the days of our earliest historians. Among men who have studied the question solely from an historical point of view, the writings of George Bancroft, Francis L. Hawks, and John Wheeler Moore, are worthy of

*Names in italics indicate the spelling on old maps whenever that differs from present day usage.

consideration; as well as later communications to learned societies from, and magazine articles by, William L. Welch, of Boston, and the late John D. Davis, of Beaufort, who arrived at very different conclusions. Mr. Welch, however, is the only student of our history who has made a serious attempt to note any of the changes that have taken place in our coast line since 1584, his interest in these changes dating from a month of military service at Hatteras Inlet in 1864. In a communication to the Essex Institute, of Salem, Mass., in 1885, he brings forward the evidence that the present Hatteras Inlet was opened by the great gale of September, 1846, which was so severe on our southern coast.

The present writer has spent several seasons during the last two decades in a study of sand movements along our entire coast, and has reported his investigations and presented the results of his studies before the Geological Society of America and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He has gathered all the maps of our coast, in originals, photographs or tracings, from John White's map of 1585, which he copied in the British Museum, July 3d, 1895, to the Coast Survey charts of the present day, and has tramped the "Banks," as these sand-reefs are called, and sailed much in all the sounds. He has also examined ships' logs, and records of light houses, life saving stations, and Weather Bureau signal stations, and has conversed with the life-savers, captains and surfmen, and recorded conversations and kept correspondence with the more noteworthy citizens of this sandstrip. The data thus obtained have been compared with information in possession of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, beginning with the manuscript "Report

by William Latham on Survey of the Coast of North Carolina from Cape Hatteras to Cape Fear, 1806."

Having located a number of old inlets from their ancient channels in the sounds, and from the topographic outlines and structural features of the adjacent sand reefs, I turned to the Colonial Records seeking to correlate the geological and historical records. Leaving to the historians all questions of the inlet entered by the English, it is my purpose to point out such changes in our coast line as are recorded in our human documents or in the earth itself.

John White, as his water color sketches and map studies made in Virginia (Carolina) show, was an accurate observer and an artist of no mean ability. His map, drawn in 1585, shows a wide open inlet where Caffey's Inlet now is. He calls the strip of sand bank to the South of it *Croatamung* and the water between this Bank and the mainland *Teripano.* To the north of this two slight inlets are indicated; while to the south and just below the Kill Devil Hills opposite Colleton Island (which is unnamed) a small and shallow inlet is indicated. Just below this slight indication of an inlet is the word *Etacrewac,* which probably indicates the prominences about Nag's Head. Next to the south is a well marked wide-open inlet marked *Port Ferdinando,* due east of the southern extremity of Roanoke Island (called here *Roanoac*), and a picture of a ship is nearly opposite, sailing away from the inlet. Below this inlet comes *Hatorask,* evidently the name of the sandstrip to the north of the great elbow jutting out into the sea; and the sandstrip to the south as far as the present Ocracoke Inlet is called *Paquiac.* There is no break in the Banks from *Port Ferdinando* (near site of present Oregon Inlet) to *Onoaconan,* which I identify with

the present Ocracoke Inlet. *Wococon,* which by some writers has been identified with Ocracoke, was more probably Whalebone Inlet, which is now closed. Between this point and Cape Lookout three other inlets are indicated; but no inlet is marked on White's map between Cape Lookout and Shackleford Banks, though there is an inlet just to the north of the cape and opposite Harker's Island. A large ship sails seaward from what I identify with Cedar Inlet, closed since 1805.

DeBry's map, already mentioned, with its wrecks marking the entrance to every inlet, shows Trinity Harbor (Caffey's Inlet? closed in 1800), two inlets to the north of it, and two inlets opposite *Roanoac* Island, that opposite the southern extremity of the island being marked, *Hatorasck,* though the name may apply to the land to the south as in White's map, rather than to the inlet. *Fac similes* of this map may be readily consulted by any readers of the Booklet. It is worthy of note that the region of Kitty Hawk Bars and Colleton Island is mapped very much as it is to-day, with no inlet opposite the island.

The next map we have is found in "A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina," a pamphlet published in London, in 1666 for Robert Horne. It is entitled "Carolina Described, 1666." The Library of Congress has the anonymous pamphlet, but without the map. The map is reproduced in *fac simile* in Hawks II, 42. This map, which is clearly less accurate than either of the preceding, gives *Coratuck,* an inlet evidently near the present site of Currituck Light House; *Roanoak Inlet,* opposite the southern extremity of *Roanoak I*[sland]; *C. Hattorasch,* and six inlets between that point

Cape Lookout, here called *C. Hope,* the last being immediately north of Cape Lookout.

The map entitled "A New Description of Carolina by order of the Lords Proprietors [A. D. 1671.] James Maxon, scul.," gives *Caratuck Inlet* in essentially the same position as the foregoing, *Musketo Inlet* (Caffey's) *Roanoak Inlet* opposite Roanoke Island, three inlets between that point and Hatteras Island, and an inlet between *Cape Hatteras* and *Ocock (Ocracoke),* evidently much nearer to the Cape than the present Hatteras Inlet. Whalebone Inlet is indicated, but not named, and there are two others between this and *Cap Lookout.*

"Carte General de la Caroline Dresse sur les Memoires le plus nouveaux Par le Siena S*** A Amsterdam Chez Pierre Mortier, Libraire, Avec Privilege de Nos Seigneurs les Etats." [1671?], gives old *Caratock* Inlet, *Nouveau Passage* (Caffey's Inlet), and *Vieu Passage* opposite *Colleton* Island, at the mouth of *Albemarle River.* It shows *Passage de Hatteras* north of its present site, *Wosston* (Ocracoke), Whalebone Inlet, and an inlet just north of Cape Lookout.

The next "Map of the Inhabited Parts of N. Carolina, prepared by Ion Lawson, Surveyor General of N. C., 1709," shows *Currituc* Inlet, *Colleton I.* with no inlet opposite, *Roanoke* Inlet and the three Inlets to the South separating successively *Cow I., Body I.,* and *Dugs* from the large Island with its projection marked *Cape Hatteras. Hatteras Inlet* is indicated somewhat to the southwest of its present position containing an island of some size and *Ocacock* is a broad inlet with two important islands. *Drum Inlet,* opposite *Cedar Island,* connects *Corantug Sound* with *The Western Ocean,*

and no other inlets are indicated until *Topsail Inlet* is reached.

Wimble's map of 1738 gives *Currituck Inlet* on the line between Virginia and North Carolina with 6 feet of water; *Nag's Head Inlet* opposite Roanoke Island, with a depth of 24 feet, and *Hatteras Inlet* somewhat to the north of its present position. The charts of Mouzin 1775, Atlantic Neptune 1780, and Lewis 1795, are simply copies of Wimble's or some other older chart.

Dundibbin's chart made in 1764 has no inlet between Cape Hatteras and Ocracoke, and gives 4 fathoms of water on the bar at Ocracoke, and 9 ft. 6 in. shoalest water on the bar inside.

John Collett's Map, London, S. Hooper, 1770, shows three sand hills just below Caffey's Inlet, no inlet at Nag's Head or at Roanoke though the names are there, Gunt Inlet, *Chiconockominock* Inlet, and no inlet between there and *Occacock* Inlet.

It is not known when Nags Head Inlet was closed, or the Hatteras Inlet indicated on the earlier maps. In 1844 an effort was made in Congress to get an appropriation to reopen Nag's Head Inlet, and in 1855 a plan was perfected under the auspices of the State to cut a channel through on the site of this inlet from Roanoke Wharf to the ocean, but the plan was never carried out.

Cole and Price's chart, 1806, based upon actual surveys, shows no trace of Hatteras Inlet, nor does it occur on any of the charts of the State until 1855 when it appears farther to the South than is indicated on any previous maps. Major Cole and Mr. Jonathan Price were associated with William Tatham in a survey of the coast of North Carolina from

Is this Latham Y gn

Cape Hatteras to Cape Fear, under Act of Congress of April 10th, 1806. Tatham's charts were lost in the wreck of the revenue cutter, *Governor Williams,* September 28th, 1806, the very day he completed his investigations and placed his baggage on board for transportation to New Bern. Tatham and his colleagues did not work together, and the charts of Cole and Price were not lost.

Mr. Tatham, however, made a report to Hon. Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in January 1807, dealing mainly with the difficulties and disaster of the undertaking. This report has never been published, but is preserved in the office of the Coast and Geodetic Survey at Washington. In this account he mentions incidentally places where inlets formerly existed, gives some attention to the effects produced by the Gulf-stream in counter currents, and makes some really valuable observations on the formation of shoals and islands, the movement and fixation of wind-blown sands, and the blocking up of inlets. Tatham's observation and conclusions remind one of the musings of the Pythagoreans, and examining his report with care is like delving in an ancient scroll of the fifteenth book of Ovid's Metamorphoses. I have had occasion, in another paper to compare some of these observations with the geological record as it exists to-day.

The map of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, compiled by F. Lewis in 1807, for the atlas accompanying Marshall's life of Washington, is merely a copy of the then existing maps, as is also Wayne's map of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, published in the same year. But the smaller copy of the same atlas, issued in a later edition, shows the "slew," or creek, on Ocracoke Island just above the site of the present light house, where it still exists in part. None

of these maps show any inlet between Cape Hatteras and *Ocracock.*

The map by Price and Strother, Philadelphia, 1808, gives Currituck Inlet much to the north of its present position, and marks the old inlet on the state line; shows Roanoke Inlet to the north of its later position and another inlet just below the southern end of Roanoke Island. No other inlet is met with on the coast as shown in this map until *Ocracock* is reached.

This map, much improved from later surveys—especially in the interior, was republished in 1820 by H. S. Tanner, of Philadelphia. Tanner's revision Currituck Inlet, Caffey's Inlet (unnamed), Roanoke Inlet (marked "filled up"), New Inlet, *Ocracock* Inlet, and Cedar Inlet, and indicates a series of reefs two to five miles within Hatteras Island (which includes *Chicomacomack* Banks to the north and Hatteras Banks to the south.

The map of North Carolina published by F. Lucas, Jr., Baltimore, 1822, shows Currituck Inlet just opposite the southern end of Knott's Island, but is not otherwise different from Tanner's revision of Strother.

S. A. Mitchell's map of 1832 shows an unbroken stretch of sand from Cape Henry to Oregon Inlet, thence to Ocracock Inlet, thence to Cedar Inlet.

The large map, 35x84 in., published by J. MacRae, Fayetteville, 1833, far surpassed in accuracy and in detail all previously published maps. Mr. MacRae was for many years postmaster at Fayetteville, and had excellent opportunities for compiling such a map. Much actual field work was done for the map by Robt. H. B. Brazier, who was an experienced engineer and excellent draftsman; and this was the mother-map of all later maps of North Carolina down

to 1880, though Cook and some others as late as 1857 copied the errors of earlier maps. Cook's map, however, shows the inner reefs of Hatteras cut down to low water. On the MacRae-Brazier map no inlets are shown north of New Inlet above *Chickonocomack Bank,* and none between there and *Ocracock* Inlet. Cedar Inlet is marked as closed, and the next inlet indicated is between Cape Lookout and *Shackleford's* Banks.

The present Hatteras Inlet was opened by the great storm of September, 1846, and was cut out sometime during the night of Sept. 7-8. Zachariah Burrus, still living at Hatteras in April, 1903, was the first man to cross the inlet, Sept. 8th, 1846. Redding R. Quidley piloted a vessel into Hatteras inlet in January, 1847, where he anchored for the night, leaving next morning and going into Ocracoke. Mr. Quidley was also pilot of the first vessel that passed through into Pamlico Sound, Feb. 5, 1847, schooner Asher C. Havens, Capt. David Barrett, Commander.

A former Hatteras Inlet, about six miles to the southwest of the present Hatteras inlet, was closed in 1839 by the stranding of an English vessel in the inlet, followed by the sanding up of the wreck, and the "making down" of the beach. These facts I have learned by conversation with and letters from Messrs. Redding Quidley, Homer W. Styron, Zachariah Burruss, A. W. Simpson, John Austin, J. W. Rollinson—and several others.

The last chart to show this inlet is Wimble's map, 1838. It is not on Dundibbin's chart of 1764, and no Hatteras Inlet appears again on the maps of the State until 1855.

The same storm that produced Hatteras Inlet opened Oregon Inlet on Sept. 8, 1846, eight miles south of the site of

Roanoke Inlet. It cut through the middle of the base line which J. C. Neilson had laid out in 1843. The inlet had 11 feet of water on the bar in 1882, but is reported to have shoaled greatly since that time. The inlet was named for the first ship that passed out through it, The Oregon, owned by John Fowle, Esq., of Washington, North Carolina.

The present writer has located the sites of the several old inlets on the coast by methods already mentioned. Old Currituck Inlet, New Currituck Inlet five miles to the southward, Caffey's Inlet and the old inlet opposite Colleton Island, at the mouth of Albemarle River, are all distinctly marked to-day by channels in the sounds approaching the Banks and are clearly shown by a low meadow strip across the sand and the arrested dunes. In the case of the Colleton Island inlet the Kill Devil Hills with the fresh ponds below them mark the site and the remnant of the ancient inlet. The sites of many former inlets are marked in this way all the way down to Beaufort Harbor, there being three distinct inlets indicated on Hatteras Island, one above and two below the cape, one on Ocracoke, three between Portsmouth and Cape Lookout and two just to the southwest of Cape Lookout. These were evidently all closed by the sands filling in around obstructions, and new inlets have from time to time been opened by storms. All of our inlets in the region under consideration in this paper are moving steadily southward by the action of the winds driving the dune sands. But this is not the place for the discussion of physiographic process on our coast. That has already been described in detail and fully illustrated by this writer elsewhere. His object here is to study these changes in the zone of early

exploration and settlement as they have influenced the history of the state.

In the Colonial Records, vol. i, Albemarle Sound is called the Carolina River in many of the deeds given by Sir William Berkeley in the second half of the 17th Century. These were all written in Virginia. The Indians had called this sound Chowan River, but the Lords Proprietors in their commission to Governor Berkeley, speak of it as "the river Chowan now named by us Albemarle river." Carlyle Island was granted to Sir Jno. Colleton, Sept. 8th, 1663, and it is described in the deed of grant as "the island hertofore called Carlyle Island now Colleton Island lying neare the mouth of Chowane now Albemarle river." Nag's Head Inlet is also described in a document of the same date. Grants still held on the Banks at various points mention inlets that have long since ceased to be.

The problem of the inlet entered may be impossible of solution. The notes here presented will reveal to the student of our history something of the nature of the problem. The influence of these shifting sands upon the development of our state is an interesting subject for the student of earth science in its relation to man. An acquaintance with the inhabitants of these ever changing sand reefs, fair women and brave men, who live and do for others, life-savers, heroes, will cause one to thank God and take courage for the future of the human race.

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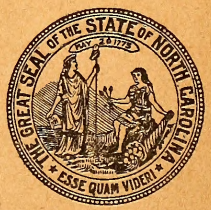


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THE HIGHLAND-SCOTCH SETTLEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA.

BY JUDGE JAMES C. MACRAE, OF CUMBERLAND.

The Scotch Highlanders were the people who occupied that portion of Scotland which lies north of the Tay on the one side and the Clyde on the other, and all the islands fringing the coasts of the great promontory from the Mull of Kintyre to the Orkneys and the Hebrides, and down the North Sea to the Firths of Tay and of Forth.

It is said, however, in official reports of the condition of these sections, made soon after the Battle of Culloden in 1746, that "the inhabitants of the lands adjoining to the mountains to the northward of those rivers, on the shores of Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff and Murray, where some sort of industry has prevailed and where the soil is tolerable, have for many years left off the Highland dress, and lost the Irish language, and have discontinued the use of weapons; the consequence whereof is that they can not be considered as dangerous to the public peace, and that the laws have their course amongst them." The foregoing is a memorandum of Lord President Forbes, written perhaps in 1746. The writer proceeds to give a sorry account of the inhabitants of the northern hills and islands, which we may not take without prejudice.*

* Scottish History from Contemporary Writers No. 111, "The Last Jacobite Uprising," by Sanford Terry, U. A., University Lecturer on History in the University oi Aberdeen.

These Highlands are on three sides washed by the cold waters of the Northern Oceans, which beat upon the islands and pierce the mainlands, where for all time beautiful hills covered with heather and gorse afforded shelter in their fastnesses, and valleys embellished with exquisite lakes, gave pasture and drink to the flocks and herds of the pristine inhabitants. Language, in poetry and prose, has been exhausted in the description of the sublime scenery of this historic section.

The story of the first settlements of this land is lost in myth; but there are, here and there, to be found vestiges of an intelligent and, for its time, a cultured race, who lived and flourished here so long ago as in the prehistoric Age of Stone; and along the successive ages of man the Archaeologist traces the steps of these interesting people.

Though these western isles are mentioned by Greek writers long before the Christian Era, in connection with the commerce of Phoenicia and Carthage, we know nothing practical of them until from the time of Julius Cæsar's unsuccessful attempt to subdue the Island of Britain. *There* begins to loom up the history, or tradition, of the first known inhabitants, the Picts, and later the Scots, who brought their name from Ireland, which was the original Scotia. Their history is that of a perpetual struggle, and for ages a successful one, for freedom.

Cæsar never reached the confines of their dominions, and near a century later, the Roman armies were stopped, and Agricola failed to make a lodgment. According to Tacitus, the Caledonians, as they were then called, thirty thousand strong, under Galgacus, Scotland's first historic hero, were defeated by the Romans at Mons Granpius in A. D. 86. But

it was a barren victory, for, half a century later, Hadrian and Antoninus built walls to keep them out of the imperial provinces of Rome. The all-prevailing Anglo-Saxon spent centuries of endeavor, and his conquest at last was only perfected by their acceptance of the King of Scotland, James the Sixth, to be the first James of England.

Long years afterwards, when the Stuart Dynasty had had its day, a considerable portion of these Highlanders remained faithful to this House, and their lands afforded harbor and succor to the efforts of the Chevaliers and Pretenders to the throne of England, and there were many risings and abortive attempts to disturb the settled constitution of England and bring back to the throne the ancient Scottish Royal Family, until, at Culloden, in 1746, it was finally defeated, and the Highlands were harried and their people put to death, or scattered and banished to distant lands, and, with those who were permitted to remain, the traditional clans were destroyed, and their very language itself was almost obliterated.

These were the Highlanders, principally, from which the American Colonies were peopled; but we must not forget that they were greatly divided among themselves, even in the hills, and that Scotland itself was divided into the Highlands and the Lowlands, inhabited by distinctly different races, and bearing to each other marked antipathy.

The race of which we write lived the old patriarchial life inherited from the Aryan tribes on the high Steppes of Asia. The head of the family was the leader; the family by growth became the Sept; the Sept grew into the Clan, the chief of which was the lord, whose retainers were his kinsmen and were ready to follow him in the foray over the border, in the long crusade to the Holy Land, in the wars upon the Con-

tinent or in the fierce conflict with the growing power of England.

The Highlanders were a strong and exhuberant race. Their habitations were hives from which, at intervals, went out swarms to people the earth. The heads of the Clans were often educated in foreign lands and in the Universities in the Lowlands; while imbued with the fierce spirit of their race, they were endowed with the graces of birth and culture, and it was from their children that the Middle Class came to be formed in the course of time; the body of the people were bold, faithful and devoted. Among them there was less of religious division than in other sections.

The Christian religion had come to them in its earliest simplicity. Ninian preached to them about the year of our Lord four hundred, and about five hundred and sixty-five, Columba established the celebrated Seat of Religion on the Island of Iona, which developed into a great monastery, from which every part of the Highlands was reached by its missionaries. The records of these earlier days have all been lost, or destroyed of purpose, but there seems to have been not so much of the bitterness of strife among the Christians of the Highlands, nor the fearful religious persecutions there as among their southern neighbors.

After every rising in the North, notably in 1690, 1715 and 1746, a stream of emigration passed out into foreign lands, much of it compulsory.

Of the disturbed conditions of the Highlands for centuries, we have not the space to make more than mention. One of the most noted and fateful of the emigrations from Scotland, and this was not only from the Highlands but from the Lowlands also, was that which was called the Darien Scheme in

1695, which, like many another adventure over the unknown ocean, led only to disaster.

In 1733 a colony of these people came to Georgia under the auspices of Governor Oglethorpe, and fought the Spaniards; and years afterwards, at the outbreak of the Revolution, had become so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of liberty that they were generally the first to espouse the Cause of the Colonies against Great Britain, and many of their descendants are now prominent citizens of Georgia. About the same time a colony came to New York under the leadership of Lauchlan Campbell, who fought the Indians, and espoused the Royal Cause in the Revolution.

In 1773 a colony of four hundred Highlanders was settled on the Mohawk, led by three gentlemen named McDonnell, under the auspices of Mr. William Johnson.

There was an earlier settlement in Nova Scotia, which was the nucleus of streams of their countrymen, whose descendants at this day take large part in the Dominion of Canada.

But we have to do with those who came to the Cape Fear and up the river to what is known as the Highland settlements of North Carolina.

It was a beautiful country to which they began to come so early and continued to come until after the war of the Revolution had actually begun, and long after it was at an end.

It must have been a grateful change to these troubled people, who sought for peace if not for rest on the far away shores of the new world. There was comparatively little undergrowth; the tall pines, with their perennial green, upon the uplands, sang to them a peaceful welcome; the surface of the earth was covered with a luxuriant growth of wild pea vines, and the bottoms with rich cane brakes, affording

abundant preserve for innumerable small game, especially deer and turkeys; sand-hill streams were, and are to this day, an unfailing supply of drink, even in the dryest seasons; the climate was mild and favorable, all combined to offer an ideal land for the shepherd with his flocks and herds. The Indian had already sought other hunting grounds in and beyond the mountain range some hundred miles toward the setting sun.

Spreading out beyond the Cape Fear, as high up as the confluence of the Deep and Haw, and to the Pedee where the Yadkin and Uwharie come together, they planted their homes in what is now Cumberland, Harnett, Moore, Montgomery, Anson, Richmond and upper Robeson, and in the adjoining districts of South Carolina.

Here they seemed to have reached "the haven where they would be."

A religious people, simple, virtuous, honorable and full of courage, they lived for years in quiet and content. The settler here was like Norval's father on the Grampian Hills, "A frugal swain whose constant care was to incerease his store, and keep his 'SONS' at home."

The large village of Cross Creek, moved up a mile from the town of Campbellton on the banks of the river, with its merchant mill and trading store, was the seat of their most important town, at the head of navigation. A large and flourishing mill still occupies its site, in the center of the city of Fayetteville, owned and operated by an enterprising citizen who bears the name though not the lineage of some of the most distinguished of the pioneer leaders of that day.

The street in Fayetteville still called "Maiden Lane," and for a long time known as "Scotch Town," was the principal residence part of the town, although the place where the cele-

brated Flora McDonald lived is pointed out on the banks of the creek near where it is crossed by Green street. Many traditions have been handed down of the time when the old Scotch ladies sat before their doors in the gloaming and told the tales of the grandfathers, about the "Old Country" to listening youth and maiden gathered round.

In Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, it is said:

"The name of the village took its origin from the curious fact that the two small streams, Cross Creek and Blunts Creek, the one coming from the south and the other from the west, met and apparently separated, and, forming an island of some size, again united and flowed on to the river. It was said that the streams, when swelled by rains, would actually cross each other in their rapid course to form a junction. This belief arose from the circumstance that float-wood coming down the stream would sometimes shoot across the commingling waters in the direction of its previous course, and, floating round the island, would fall into the united current. The action of a mill dam prevents the recurrence."

This was written in 1846. Old citizens of Fayetteville will point out the place now to the curious inquirer.

The town is described in a book once loaned the writer by the late General Rufus Barringer, of Charlotte, which was published by a traveler who was studying the fauna and the flora of this section, a long time before the Revolution, as a flourishing town of fifteen hundred houses.

The writer of this sketch is greatly indebted to his old friend, Hamilton McMillan, Esq., for much valuable information and suggestion. He says that there is not the shadow of a doubt that the first Highland immigrants reached this region at an earlier date than 1729; and he further says:

"There is a tradition preserved in the McFarland family that members of that clan reached North Carolina as early as 1690. When the Quhele clan located in Cumberland it is now impossible to tell; but they probably came over about the time that the McFarlands settled in what is now Scotland County. It is a tradition that many Scotchmen located on the Cape Fear, after the disastrous rising in 1715."

We know, from contemporary history, that a great number of Highlanders were banished to the plantations in 1716.*

Professor J. P. McLean, of Cleveland, Ohio, in his very interesting "Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America," in which he has displayed much research, says that while the time when they first began to occupy this section is not definitely known; some were located there in 1729, at the time of the separation of the Province into North and South Carolina, and this information he gets from Foote and Caruthers.

In Colonel Saunders' Prefaratory Remarks to the fourth volume of the Colonial Records, it is said: "In September, 1739, Dugald McNeal, Colonel McAlister and several other Scotch gentlemen, arrived with three hundred and fifty Scotch people, doubtless in the Cape Fear Country. And in 1740, in the Upper House of the Legislature, resolutions were passed appropriating £1,000, to be paid out of the public money by His Excellency's Warrant, to be lodged with Duncan Campbell, Dugald McNeal and Daniel McNeal, Esqrs., to be by them distributed among the several families in said petition mentioned.

It was further resolved, that, as an encouragement for pro-

* Mitchell's History of the Highlands, page 578.

testants to remove from Europe into this province, provided they exceed forty persons in one body or company, they shall be exempted from payment of any public or county tax for the space of ten years next ensuing their arrival, and an address was sent to the Governor asking him to use his interest in the giving of encouragement to this immigration.

Governor Gabriel Johnson was himself a Scotchman, though a Lowlander, and was so warm in his encouragement of these measures that it was complained against him that he showed special favor to the Scotch rebels. In 1740 appear the first names of the Highlanders in the Commission of the Peace. On the 29th of February, 1740, "further consideration was shown to the new comers by the appointment by the Governor and Council of Duncan Campbell, Dugald McNeil, Col. McAlister and Neil McNeil, as Magistrates for the County of Bladen. According to Dr. Caruthers, the party which came over in 1739 found Hector McNeal with his colony already settled near "the Bluff" on the north side of the Cape Fear, about twelve miles above Fayetteville.

The late Rev. Dr. McNeill McKay, a distinguished Presbyterian divine, prepared and delivered a most interesting history of the Bluff Church, which, to the writer's surprise, is not to be found in the University Library, and which he has made an ineffectual effort to obtain for use in the preparation of this sketch. He has found there a late publication concerning the family of Colonel Alexander McAllister, himself a descendant of Fergas Mor, the Lord of the Isles. In this goodly company appear the names of almost every prominent citizen of Harnett and upper Cumberland.

Mr. McMillan continues his interesting letter:

"The greatest immigration followed the rising of 1745.

Neill McNeill, of Jura, was in America inspecting the lands in Pennsylvania and in North Carolina, while the troubles on account of Charles Edward, the Pretender, were occurring in 1745-46. Soon after Culloden and, if I am not mistaken, in 1747, McNeill led a large colony to the Cape Fear. Many, principally Lowlanders, settled near Governor Johnson's place in Bladen, while the greater number located in Cumberland and Harnett.

"Governor Johnson had built a great palace on the river, four miles above the present town of Elizabeth Town, and there he concealed for a number of years his brother, who had escaped British vengeance after Culloden. The Court House then stood a short distance south of the palace, and near the residence of the late Hon. T. D. McDowell. This building was destroyed by fire in 1765, and a new one built in after years, about four miles below. This building, so destroyed, was temporarily replaced by another on the old site; for in a diary kept by Governor Johnson's brother during these eventful times (and recently discovered by a great grandson in Georgia, among a mass of old papers) it is related that Francis Marion organized his famous band in the Court House in Bladen, and that said band was composed largely of Cape Fear Patriots.

"There are other accounts in South Carolina histories of the organization of Marion's men, but it is doubtless true that some portions of his famous band were here recruited and organized."

And the Highlanders *were* represented in Marion's band of patriots, for Sergeant McDonald, said to be near kin to the McDonalds who headed the loyalists rising, was one of the most celebrated soldiers of Marion's men.

"The early settlers in the Upper Cape Fear region tried to establish a town in what is now Harnett County, but this effort was a failure, and 'Chaffeningham' became a 'deserted village.'

"The settlement at Campbelton became permanent and gradually extended westward. John Elwell, a Revolutionary Patriot, told my father, the late William McMillan, that when he was a small boy there was one dwelling on Cross Creek, west of Campbelton. This, according to tradition, was the Branson dwelling, and, when demolished a few years ago, had the date of 1714 marked on the wall.

"The McLaurins came to America, and reached Campbelton in 1730. They had been under the protection of the McGregors up to that year, who kept them from being exterminated by hostile clans. They left Scotland, according to Sir Walter Scott, in August, 1730, and it is quite probable that they arrived at Campbelton in the fall of that year.

"There were occasional bands of immigrants who arrived in the years preceding the Revolution, but larger numbers arrived in the years 1804 and 1805.

"The destruction of the Court House in Bladen in 1765, together with its records, renders it difficult to find any written evidence corroborating existing traditions."

We may add that there seems to be nothing on record in the State Department at Raleigh, or in the Colonial Records, which shows earlier grants to the Scotch than 1729.

A fund of information concerning these people may be found in the life of Dr. Caldwell and the Revolutionary Incidents by Dr. Caruthers, and the Sketches of North Carolina by the Rev. William Henry Foote, which is a most interesting history of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina. Dr.

Caruthers pays high tribute to them as a whole, and attempts to account for so large a portion of them having taken sides with the King.

"The Scotch settlements extended from the Ocean up to the Cape Fear and Deep Rivers, and from these rivers to the Pedee. This space includes eight or ten of our present counties, and was settled almost exclusively by the Highlanders. In addition to their sacred regard for the obligation of an oath, they had been for many generations accustomed to a kingly government, and they seemed to think that no other was admissible. They seem to have always had the elements of republicanism, especially in matters of religion; for at all times, and under all circumstances, they held the right of worshipping God according to their own understanding of His Word, as one of vital importance. In all periods of their authentic history it seems they must have a king; but, as they believed that a royal government was the only one sanctioned in the Bible, he must be a man after their own hearts, and he must be bound by oath and covenant, like the Jewish kings of old, to serve the God of the Bible, while he maintained the true religion and ruled in moderation he was their rightful sovereign, and there never was or could be a more loyal and devoted people. He was the Lord's Anointed, and to rebel against him was the same thing as to rebel against the Lord Himself."

These were also a clannish people, and paid the utmost deference to their lairds or petty chieftains, whether in a civil, social or religious capacity; and such continued to be the fact, to a great extent, long after they came to America. But there was another and a large class of population in and around Campbelton, especially on the east side of the Cape Fear

River, who were infused with the spirit of resistance to tyrants by the patriots of the Lower Cape Fear, and who early declared for independence, although still hoping for reconciliation between Great Britain and America.*

Colonel Alexander McAllister was the colonel of the Cumberland Militia. He, with Farquhard Campbell and Alexander McKay, Thomas Rutherford and David Smith, was a delegate to the General Assembly of Deputies at New Bern in 1774.

The conclusion reached by Caruthers and Foote, while they dealt with those who remained loyal with the most abundant charity, was that those who had come to this region in the earlier immigrations were in sympathy with the patriots and many joined their ranks. But the body of those who came later, and some arrived almost in the beginning of the Revolution, in 1775, were, to a great extent, poor and unlettered, speaking only the Gaelic language, and entirely unacquainted with the matters in dispute and under the influence of their leaders who brought them here; and were led by them to follow the royal standard when it was raised by General McDonald, their natural leader; and it was principally those, who with the Regulators, met with defeat at Moore's Creek, as has been so graphically and intelligently detailed in the Booklet recently prepared by Professor Noble. The truth is that these people had come here for peace. They were not much concerned in the troubles in Boston, so far to the north of them. The better educated and the wealthier of those who had been here for some time gave countenance and sympathy to and

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* See the Resolves of the Association at Liberty Point, June 20th, 1775. Wheeler, page 125.

joined the patriots. Many of them were with Marion's men. In the later troubles, after the British had transferred their operations to North and South Carolina, for they seemed to have been fated to be in the center of disturbance, all that territory between the Cape Fear and the Pedee was overswept by marauding bands, and to those who desired to be neutral the danger was greater than it was to those who were bold enough to take sides. There were small battles, as to numbers engaged, but fearful as to cruelty and bloodshed, the worst character of civil war. The Highlanders who remained on the side of the King were a small part of the tories under Fanning, who came down from the higher country and ravaged and destroyed, and who, of course, were met in the same spirit by the wilder sort of those who were in sympathy with the whigs.

For a long time before hostilities broke out in North Carolina, there were great efforts made by both sides to secure the sympathy of the Highlanders who were everywhere acknowledged to be a people of conscientious convictions and high character.

Colonel McIntosh came among them from the Scotch who lived near Society Hill in South Carolina, himself an ardent Whig, and, no doubt influenced many to take the patriots' side.

When Fanning captured Governor Burke at Hillsboro and carried him to Wilmington the Tories stopped with him one night on Deep River at the house of the father of Colin MacRae, who was the progenitor of that branch of the MacRaes who afterwards lived, and now live in Wilmington, the wife of Mr. MacRae, who was herself a kinswoman of Governor Burke, made an ineffectual effort to help him to escape.

Captain McCranie commanded a company of Whigs in Cumberland and many of the Highlanders who had been in this country some time before the Revolution, joined the Whigs. Cornwallis was disappointed at the failure of the Highlanders to come to him as he passed Cross Creek on his way to Wilmington.

Mr. McMillan further writes:

"Among some old books I have read, I find it stated that one McAlister, who carried on a mercantile business in Campbelton, was a great friend of Benjamin Franklin. Boxes of goods from Philadelphia contained reading matter calculated to influence the people trading in Campbelton in favor of independence, and these books and pamphlets were distributed among the people in all the back country by Herman Husbands, a cousin of Franklin, who was sent to North Carolina to prepare the people for resistance to British tyranny."

It is a remarkable thing that by some means the first spark of freedom was quenched at Alamance by those who afterwards became the leaders of the patriots, and that those who first fought against oppression were turned by these untoward events to be the Tories in the war which soon ensued. It is no more singular, however, than was the fate of those gallant young Frenchmen with LaFayette at Yorktown, who got back to France in time to be guillotined as Aristocrats. Hon. W. H. Bailey, of Mecklenburg, now living in Texas, once told the writer that he had heard from some one that a letter was sent by a special messenger from some of these Highlanders to Dr. Witherspoon, the president of the College of New Jersey, to ask his advice as to which side they should take, and of course he wrote by the messenger strongly urging them to declare for independence; but the messenger was captured by

the Tories on his return journey, and a different letter substituted, advising them to stand for the King.

This, however, is too much like Peregrine Pickle's letter to his sweetheart, which was worn out in the messenger's shoe and another one substituted in its place.

But the work was done with these Highlanders, and especially with those who came just before the Revolution, by the dominant influence of the McDonalds and McLeods and McLeans, who came with them from Scotland, or later came from the British army at Boston, in which they were commissioned officers, and stirred the blood of their kinsmen to take up arms for the King.

In Foote's Sketches, on page 148, chapter XII., is the story of Flora McDonald, the aristocratic young Highland maiden who so romantically saved the life of Charles Edward, the Pretender, in the face of a reward of £30,000 for his head, although she had not been in sympathy with the rebellion in his favor; her arrest and imprisonment in the Tower of London; her finding favor with Prince Frederick, the heir apparent; her interview with King George the Second, and how, in reply to his inquiry, "How could you dare to succor the enemies of my crown and kingdom?" she said, with great simplicity, "It was no more than I would have done to your majesty, had you been in like situation"; her free release, and ride back to Scotland, accompanied by Malcom McLeod, who used afterwards to boast that he went to London to be hanged, but rode back in a chaise and four with Flora McDonald. The beautiful young girl had married Allan McDonald, of Kingsburgh, and by him had several sons, who in time became officers in the British army. She and her husband came with the Highlanders to Cumberland in 1775.

They were visited by the young officers, the McDonalds and McLeods, from Boston, who came to influence the immigrants to be true to the King. The influence of these high-born Scotch upon the more lowly ones, who had been accustomed to follow them all their lives; their utter ignorance of the matter in controversy; the extraordinary efforts of Governor Martin to confirm their faith in the King, and the fact that, at the beginning of the controversy, there was little or no bitterness between the Whigs and Royalists in that section goes far to account for their adherence to the crown.

Caruthers says:

"Even in November and December, 1775, the two parties in Cross Creek, now Fayetteville, mustered on opposite sides of the village, then returned to town and lived in great harmony. But this state of things could not continue."

As the strife came nearer home, the lines were more closely drawn, and, at last, when the royal standard was raised at Cross Creek by General McDonald, formerly an officer in the British army, and now commissioned with higher rank, when Governor Martin had sent commissions to the young and aspiring men among them, and every blandishment was used upon them, there was a blare of enthusiasm. The pibroch's strains were heard through the sand hills, and there was in this far-away land the last gathering of the clans, with the result of which we are so familiar. Most of the Highlanders in arms being captured at Moore's Creek, their officers carried away prisoners, and themselves paroled; this was the end of organized oposition on their part. How gladly they returned to their homes, and would have remained there until the strife was over if it were possible in a time like that to be neutral.

Many tried to stay at home and some met with cruel death, and all with the devastation and horrors of civil war.

But at last it all passed away; the victory was won, and, strange to say, it was these same Highlanders, or what was left of them, who became the leading citizens of their section.

In the list of the members of the General Assembly from Cumberland, beginning with Alexander McAlister and coming down and up the century to the present time, a large majority of the members were these Highlanders and their descendants. And, even at this writing, the Senator from Cumberland comes of a great clan, whose abode was in the most northern part of the mainland in Scotland; and one of the present members of the House from Cumberland is a native Highland Scotchman. For many years the Judges of the Superior Court of the present Seventh Judicial District have been Highland Scotchmen by descent, and so is the president of the Corporation Commission.

Among these people for half a century and much longer after the Revolution, for it is in the memory of the writer, the Gaelic tongue was as commonly spoken on the streets of Fayetteville and in the sand hills of Cumberland, and in parts of Richmond and Robeson, as the English. The older ones spoke little else; the younger understood and could speak it, and did speak it to their fathers and mothers. Even the negro slaves, who were treated with the greatest kindness, some of them spoke the Gaelic. We well remember when, at Galatia Church especially, the first sermon in the morning was preached in Gaelic by that Old Man of God, Rev. Colin McIver; and after his death, by the Rev. Mr. Sinclair, who was sent for to succeed him because he could speak the language most familiar to the congregation.

It would require a large book, rather than a booklet, to gather up the traditions of these people.

The writer, when a little boy, was accustomed to spend the summers at the farm of old Mr. and Mrs. Archie McGregor in the sand hills of Cumberland, now Harnett, and not very far from Cameron Hill, where Flora McDonald for a time resided. It was near Cypress Church where Rev. Evander McNair, of blessed memory, preached, and he preached sometimes in Gaelic, we think; we know that he could speak it, and not far away from Barbecue where the McDonalds once worshipped.

It was late in the gloaming of one summer evening when the night began to fall and some dark clouds in the west threatened a storm, and the family had all gathered in, when, far away in the distance, floating on the evening breeze, was heard the faint notes of the bagpipe sounding an old Highland tune. We wish you could imagine the electrical effect of those far off sounds upon that family; the anxiety on every face, the haste with which the old claybank horse, "General," was hitched up to the cart (it was before the days of buggies), and the young men started in quest of the old lost piper. He was a wanderer among the Scotch families in all that section; he was a welcome guest at every fireside so long as he chose to abide with them. He was very old; his breath was too thin to fill the bag for his pipe, and his step tottered as he walked, and he was almost blind. When he wandered off and got lost in the woods his custom was to sit down on a fallen tree and play the pipes as best he could. And of one thing he might be sure, that if there were any of his countrymen or women within the sound of his pipe he would soon find succor and a hospitable welcome. So, in an hour they found

him, sitting on a log in the "lochy place" and brought him in to a good supper and a comfortable bed. The old man was the last of his race in the sand hills of Cumberland. His name was Urquhart. He remained with the McGregors for several days, maybe weeks, and used to pipe as well as he could for them the old Scotch airs, to which they listened with a kind of awe. He spoke what little he did speak in Gaelic, and they talked to him in the same language, all of which has left us but the little Bible, and that is now in an unknown tongue. After a while the restless fit came upon him and he wandered away, followed by the kind words of all the McGregors. The writer never saw him again in the flesh, but he can see the little old man now, as he went down the road with his bagpipes under his arm. We know not whether he had any home or family of his own in the sand hills of Cumberland, but it could not have been long before he heard sweeter music than the notes of his own beloved pipes, for he must soon have found a hospitable resting place for his weary old soul in "the far away land of the blest."

The great characteristic of those people was their love of education. The good schools they had in the counties where they lived up to the last generation, before the war is the period by which we all measure everything, and I doubt not there are many of them yet, those schools, especially one we knew on Long Street in Cumberland, of which Archie Ray was the principal, were the best schools of their time, and there are no better in the new light of this day. They have sent many a man to take the honors of the University and of Davidson College, and some to Princeton; and they have prepared many another for the battle of life, and sent him out in the world.

The men of this section have gone by way of the universities and colleges, and some times by way direct from the country high schools, all over the South and West, to take honored places among the people; and the rolls of our higher institutions to-day of either sex will bear many a name which was a familiar one in old Cross Creek, and from the Cape Fear to the Pedee in earlier days.

However divided or however wrong they may have gone when they came across the waters to find peace, and found a sword, of one thing there is no question—that in later times of strife they all followed the light which was set before them, as they saw the light, and they all saw it alike this time.

This same Scotch settlement was a sadly broken one in 1865, when so many of the young men never returned, and when war, just as its leader called it, swept with Sherman's thousands through these quiet settlements.

Experience has amply taught that there is no place in all the world where the seeker after peace may be sure he has found it.

We have stood in the door of one of these desolated places, not far from Long street and Galatia, and counted over the names of a score of young men who lived in sight of where we stood, who were buried in Pennsylvania or Maryland or Virginia.

But, resurgam! These settlements are all flourishing now. New enterprises have taken the places of the old. New roads are crossing each other. New school houses are open, and new church spires point the old way in all that region. And men and women of this day, in whose veins course the same red blood which drove back the Roman legions from the hills of Scotland are still ready to say, as their general said, ac-

cording to Tacitus near two thousand years ago, "As therefore you advance to battle look back upon your ancestors; look forward to your posterity."

Let us hope that this race has at last found the desired peace, and that all their strivings may hereafter be for the betterment of themselves, and of all the people.

Note.—In the preparation of this sketch the writer has been greatly aided by his friends, ex-Senator Hamilton McMillan and Captain E. R. McKethan, ex-member of the North Carolina Legislature. He has had access to Mitchell's History of the Highlands; McLean's Highlanders in America; Caruther's Life of Dr. Caldwell and Revolutionary Incidents; Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, and, of course, to the Colonial Records.

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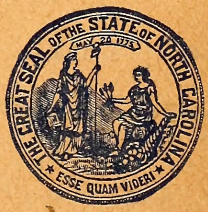


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THE SCOTCH-IRISH OF NORTH CAROLINA

BY REV. A. J. McKELWAY

The ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, included, within the boundaries of Scotland, the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Dumfries, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright and Dumbarton, an area about as large as the State of Connecticut. The men of Scottish birth who have written their names high on the roll of fame have nearly all come from this district. It is the reputed birthplace of St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland; while here are to be found the most frequent traditions of the reign of King Arthur. It is only necessary to mention the names of William Wallace, Robert Bruce, John Knox and Robert Burns to show that the race that inhabited these western Lowlands was a virile race. Here arose the royal line of the Stuarts; the family of which William Ewart Gladstone was the most illustrious scion; and the ancestors of our own Washington. Here lived the Lollards, Reformers before the Reformation, and here were marshalled the leaders and armies of the Reformation itself. Here was the chief home of the Covenanters. Here has been built the great manufacturing city of the modern world, Glasgow, a model city in many respects. And from these seven counties flowed the main stream of immigrants into the province of Ulster, Ireland, from which they emigrated in turn to the American colonies to be known henceforth as the Scotch-Irish. How near akin the American strain is to the people who still occupy the Southwestern corner of Scotland is evident from the following description of Hugh Miller:

"The Scotch Lowlander is, as a rule, of fair height, long-legged, strongly built, and without any tendency to the obesity so common among his kinsmen of England. His eye is ordinarily brighter than that of the Englishman, and his features more regular; but his cheeks are more prominent and the leanness of the face helps to accentuate these features. Of all the men of Great Britain those of Southwestern Scotland are distinguished for their tall stature. The Lowlander is intelligent, of remarkable sagacity in business, and persevering when once he has determined upon accomplishing a task; but his prudence degenerates into distrust, his thrift into avarice. * * * The love of education for its own sake is far more widely spread in Scotland than in England."

In view of the part this race has played in the life of the world it is a matter of interest to inquire what were its original constituents.

The aboriginal Briton was probably not unlike the modern Esquimo, a short and slight people, though muscular. The Celts who invaded Briton from Gaul belonged to the later Bronze and the early Iron Age. They probably exterminated rather than absorbed the aborigines, the notable exception being in the very region which we are considering, the Novantæ and the Seglovæ being mentioned by Ptolemy, these coalescing later into the "fierce and warlike" tribe of the Attecotti, who constantly harassed the Romans, and afterwards were known as the "Galloway Picts." The Roman invasion and occupation embraced this district and the Romans left traces of their blood as well as their language with the conquered Celts. It is still a mooted question who were the Picts, Picti, "painted people," whom the Romans were

unable to conquer, who after the Romans withdrew waged fierce warfare against the Celts. It is believed that they were a Teutonic race. But we come to historic ground in the invasion of the Angles and Saxons, who gave the larger Teutonic element to the Lowland type. In the year 875 the Kingdom of Strathclyde was invaded by the Danes and a large number of the Britons left Strathclyde for Wales. The district was often the field of battle between the Picts or Caledonians and the Saxons. But not only the Danes, the Dubhgail, or black-haired strangers, but the Norsemen, the Finngaill, or fair-haired, made their inroads upon Galloway and the latter left a permanent settlement there. And from the year 875 the Danes and Norsemen contended for the mastery of all this part of Scotland, and in the reign of Macbeth, who was neither so guilty nor Duncan so innocent of blood as Shakespeare has made the world believe, the Norse influence was at its height in Scotland, Earl Thorfinn possessing Galloway, as one of his nine earldoms. Galloway included parts of Dumfries and Ayr as well as Kirkcudbright and Wigtown. Finally the Normans brought a fresh infusion of Teutonic blood with a Latin language to temper the Saxon speech.

It is only necessary to call attention to the fact that this was a fighting race of people that was thus formed by the mingling of Celtic and Roman and Teutonic blood. Scotland came into her own in the family of nations through such toil and moil and blood as has seldom been the lot of any people for so long a stretch of the centuries. The kingdom was united under Malcolm, son of Duncan, and the peaceful amalgamation of these warring races began. It would seem

that if there was rough work in the world to do, from the conquest of tyrant kings to the building of an empire in a new world, here was the race that was destined to do it.

It would be interesting to trace the history of this remarkable district of Scotland through the long wars between England and Scotland in the period between Malcolm and Mary, Queen of Scots. There was the strength of the Scottish Reformation. It was James the First of England and Sixth of Scotland, the "wisest fool in Christendom," who brought about the peopling of the North of Ireland by the men of the Seven Counties.

All through the reign of Elizabeth there had been trouble in North Ireland. The government of the country was in the hands of English military officers whose authority did not extend beyond their posts. The Northeast corner of Ireland had been conquered and held by the McDonnells, a Scotch clan from the Isle of Jura and from Cantyre on the Mainland of Scotland. A little later a wild Irishman by the name of Con McNeale McBryan Feartach O'Neill got into trouble with the King over the duty on wine. He was cast into prison. Hugh Montgomery, Laird of Braidstane, drove a hard bargain with him, agreeing to rescue him from prison in return for half his lands in county Down. In order to obtain the pardon of Con, James Hamilton, another canny Scot, was called in, who had great influence with the King, and Con lost another third of his patrimony, not long afterwards running through the remaining third by his habits of conviviality. Montgomery and Hamilton then proceeded to "plant" their lands thoroughly from the famous Seven Counties in Scotland.

Soon afterwards, the Irish chiefs of Ulster began a treasonable correspondence with Spain and their letters were intercepted by King James. O'Neill, of Tyrone, and O'Donnell, of Tyrconnell, left the country with a number of their adherents. O'Dogherty perished in the rebellion and his lands were confiscated to the crown. Other Irish chieftains fled the kingdom and so it happened that not less than 3,800,000 acres of land in Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermegan and Cavan, were placed at the disposal of the Crown, making with Down and Antrim, North Ireland, or Ulster. This region James determined to settle mainly with Scotch from the seven counties of the Southwest. The first settlers were those that left their country for their country's good. These were shortly followed by a great army of earnest, industrious colonists, building their rush-thatched huts first near the landlord's castle, and later gathering into villages. The best lands had been selected for the colonists, the poorest being reserved for the remnant of the Irish, between whom there existed and exists to this day an unconquerable race antipathy. There was almost no mixing of these two races, the name, Scotch-Irish, being a geographical rather than a racial descriptive. The natives were even driven to the woods, becoming known as wood-kernes, and they were severely punished for their crimes when caught. The new settlers had to war against the wolves also. But they drained the swamps, felled the forests, sowed wheat and flax, raised cattle and sheep, began the manufacturing of linen and woolen cloth, and not only made all their own goods, even the tools with which to work, but began the exportation of linen and woolen cloth to Eng-

land. And they were Presbyterian in faith, as has been intimated from the part the Seven Counties took in the Reformation. Scotch ministers went with their congregations to the new lands. Peter Heylin, the champion of the English Church of his day, writes: "They brought with them hither such a stock of Puritanism, such a contempt of bishops, such a neglect of the public liturgy, that there was nothing less to be found among them than the government and forms of worship established in the Church of England."

At the time of the accession of Charles the First to the English throne, in 1625, Ulster was receiving a steady stream of immigrants from the Lowlands, at the rate of four thousand a year. High rents in Scotland drove many of the people to accept the chances of life in Ireland. This immigration was checked and actually turned back upon Scotland by religious persecution. The Episcopal Church of Ireland was so evangelical that Presbyterians who had fled from Scotland for their faith had no hesitation in joining it. But with the rise of Archbishop Laud, the effort was made to secure uniformity of worship in Ireland. Against the protests of Archbishop Usher the Scottish ministers were deposed and several of them set sail for New England in 1636. Their vessel was driven back, however, to the Irish shore. In the same year the attempt was made to administer the "black oath," compelling all the people of Ulster, Catholics excepted, to swear obedience in advance to all the "royal commands" of the King. Thousands of Scots refused to take the oath and thousands returned to Scotland. In the midst of this confusion, the native Irish, under Sir Phelim O'Neill, who claimed to be acting under the King's commission, rose in

arms throughout Ulster and seized nearly all the castles. There followed a reign of terror in which ten thousand Ulsterites lost their lives, the blow falling less heavily upon the Scots because so many of them had returned to Scotland. It may be noted here that the distance across the Channel by one route is only twenty-one and a half miles, so that communication was easy.

In the meantime the Scots had raised an army to defend their religious freedom, the royal standard was raised and the Civil War had begun. The "Covenant" was administered to a large part of the Protestant population of Ireland, then estimated at seventy thousand, and the Ulsterites had their share of victories and defeats on the battlefield. It is worthy of note that the Irish Presbytery protested vehemently against the execution of Charles and brought down upon their heads the wrath of John Milton, in a scurrilous reply that ill beseemed the great poet. But Cromwell was now the real ruler of the realm and having pacified England and Scotland he proceeded to subdue Ireland, a feat that was never accomplished but this one time. The Irish Presbyterians were not molested though they were not in high favor. As a result of the vast confiscation of estates by Cromwell three-fourths of the country passed into the hands of the Protestants. Only in North Ireland, however, was this colonization effective, though settlers were now numbered at 100,000.

Religious persecution began again with the accession of Charles II, but it soon passed and that good-natured monarch granted some recognition to the Presbyterian Church. But during his reign two important acts were passed, the beginning of

the policy that drove the Ulsterites to America. The exportation of cattle from Ireland to England was forbidden and by the Navigation Act, ships from Ireland were treated as foreign vessels.

The Revolution of 1688 was peaceful except in Ireland, which was the last stronghold of James II. His lord deputy, Tyrconnel, had put arms into the hands of the Irish peasantry, who began a series of depredations upon their Scotch neighbors in which a million head of cattle changed owners. With the outbreak of the Revolution the Protestants fled to Enniskillen and Londonderry and the defence of these cities against overwhelming odds and under privations unspeakable is of the least glorious chapter in the history of the men of Ulster. Unfortunately for the brave people who had suffered so much for the new King, a certain clerical Munchausen, Rev. George Walker, so falsified the facts of the great siege of Londonderry as to put the Scotch in rather a bad light. At any rate Ulster began to learn something of the ingratitude of Kings and the Ulsterite became the hereditary enemy of the House of Hanover. It is computed that besides the natural increase in the Scotch population from early and prolific marriages there had been an addition of 50,000 Scotch immigrants between the Revolution of 1688 and the reign of Queen Anne. We have this interesting testimony from the pen of Lionel Jenkins, Secretary of State, in a letter written to the Duke of Ormond in 1679, who says that "those of the north of Ireland * * * are most Scots and Scotch breed and are the Northern Presbyterians and phanatiques, lustly, able-bodied, hardy and stout men, where one may see three or four hundred at every meeting-house on

Sunday, and all the North of Ireland is inhabited by these, which is the popular place of all Ireland by far. They are very numerous and greedy after land." It should be understood, however, that not all the Ulsterites were either Scotch or Presbyterian. There was a goodly element of English Episcopalians with a remnant of Catholic Irish. Some Latin blood was added to the Presbyterian element in an immigration of French Huguenots, whose names still exist among the Scotch-Irish emigrants to America.

In the reign of Queen Anne the whole people of Ireland, Catholics and Presbyterians as well, were under the ban of the High Church regime. Immigration from Scotland into Ireland had ceased. Emigration from the North of Ireland into America began. In 1704 an act was passed requiring that all public officers should take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church. The Catholics, in protesting, showed that this affected also the Presbyterians, "who had saved Ireland," but the protest fell upon deaf ears. Presbyterian magistrates and postmasters were deprived of power and support.

In the same year Presbyterians were excommunicated for the crime of being married by their own ministers. The meetings of Presbytery were declared illegal meetings. Presbyterians were compelled to pay tithes for the support of the Establishment. Every Presbyterian schoolmaster became liable to imprisonment for teaching, when these people were the strongest adherents of John Knox, who "first sent the schoolmaster into all corners, saying, 'Let the people be taught.' " Then the doors of the churches were nailed up. But the people were at last aroused and when there was dan-

ger of the succession of the Jacobite Pretender to the throne, it was quietly ascertained that there were fifty thousand Irish Presbyterians who were capable of bearing arms and willing to fight for the Protestant succession. After the accession of George I an act of toleration was passed, though the strongest friends of the crown in Ireland were still forbidden to bear arms.

During this period of religious persecution there were other repressive measures. For the "protection" of the English woolen trade from Irish competition, an act was passed forbidding the exportation of woolens from Ireland, later followed by acts forbidding the exportation to any country but England. Thus one of the great manufacturing enterprises of the Ulsterites was destroyed as had been their raising of cattle for the English markets. The people turned to linen manufacture as a last alternative and this grew and flourished.

It was only natural, therefore, that men of this breed should seek a freer land. They felt that they were pilgrims and strangers as their fathers were. The great fact of the eighteenth century relating to both England and America is the Scotch-Irish emigration. Between 1725 and 1768 the emigration increased from 3,000 to 6,000 a year, not less than 200,000 of the people having left Ireland for the American Colonies in that period. From 1771 to 1773 there were thirty thousand emigrants. The Protestant population of Ireland had in the meantime grown to 527,505, making allowances for the gradual increase a full third of the population had left for America. The raising of rents after a period of famine augmented this exodus from Ireland. Re-

calling that it began with an emigration of 20,000 in 1698 and allowing for the increase of the population in America, it has been computed that there were not less than 400,000 people of Scotch-Irish birth or descent in America at the beginning of the Revolution. A few went to New England, where they were duly persecuted by their Puritan brethren. Yet there was one congregation of 750 members, Londonderry, and they gave to the Revolution General Stark and his Green Mountain boys. They named "Bunker Hill" from a hill in Ireland overlooking Belfast. And from this New England settlement went Henry Knox, the first American Secretary of War, Matthew Thornton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Horace Greely and Asa Gray.

The Scotch-Irish settled a good part of New York State. The first governor of the State, Clinton, was of this race. They settled New Jersey, and the chaplain of the First Brigade was the fighting parson, Rev. James Caldwell. But the chief port of entry was Philadelphia, which city was soon taken possession of and has been held to this day. From Philadelphia the waves of colonization spread westward until the best lands of western Pennsylvania were taken and then the stream poured Southward, down through the Valley of Virginia, into Piedmont North Carolina, across the line into South Carolina and into the hill country of Georgia. But another important port of entry was Charleston, and as the immigration sought the hill country the wave from Charleston met and mingled with the wave from Pennsylvania in the border counties of the Western Carolinas. The breed in North Carolina alone gave three Presidents to the Nation, Jackson, Polk and Johnson. And what shall I more say,

for the time would fail me to tell of Patrick Henry and John Witherspoon, of the twenty-one Scotch-Irish generals of the Revolutionary war, of the seven Presbyterian elders, Morgan and Pickens and Campbell and Shelby and Cleveland and Williams and Sevier, of Presidents Jefferson and Monroe and Jackson and the Harrisons, of Polk and Buchanan and Johnson and Grant and Hayes and Arthur and Cleveland and McKinley and Roosevelt; of the long line of Cabinet officers, Supreme Court Justices, Senators, Representatives and Governors, in whom ran the blood of this great people, fighting for life and liberty for a thousand years, and schieving it at last in America.

It has been deemed necessary that this long introduction should be written to the sketch of the Scotch-Irish in North Carolina, that our people may know that their roots reach far back into the historic past and that the branches of this tree in America have not borne unworthy fruit.

The first settlement of Scotch-Irish in North Carolina was made by Henry McCulloh in 1736, on a grant of land in Duplin County, the colonists forming the congregations of Goshen and the Grove. The Scotch-Irish are not to be confounded with the Scotch colonists on the Cape Fear. These were Highland Scots, of almost pure Celtic blood, while the Scotch-Irish are mainly Saxon, not having intermingled with the Irish Celts, so that there is a racial as well as a geographical difference between the Scottish Highlander and Lowlander, between the Cape Fear Scotch and the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina. Of course the largest settlements of the Scotch-Irish were in the counties of Guilford, Orange, Alamance, Caswell, Rowan, Iredell, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg,

Lincoln and Gaston, with the center of the immigration in Mecklenburg.

As many of the Scotch-Irish settlers had already had experience in Pennsylvania or Virginia they were able to secure the best lands, as the pioneers of the Piedmont region. The Indians were mostly friendly to the whites. The country alternated between forest and prarie and abounded in game, deer, buffalo, and bear, while panthers were not infrequently found. The pioneers came from the North in wagons in which they slept until they had built a house on land of their own selection. The house was built of hewn logs, the interstices stopped with clay, the roof covered with riven boards. One room, one door and one window, closed with a wooden shutter, was the characteristic style of architecture. The furniture of the house consisted of beds, a few stools, a table, on which were set pewter dippers and plates, and wooden trenches. A few plow irons and harrow teeth, a hoe and a mattock and an axe, a broad-axe, wedges, mauls and a chisel, would be the inventory of the tools on the farm. Cattle, sheep and geese, horses and hogs, were raised with great profit and from the wool the clothes of the family were spun, and from the goose an annual tax of feathers was secured for pillows and feather-beds. When the family began to put in a glass window and to buy cups and saucers of chinaware, they were considered wealthy.

They did have their wealth in their own capacity to manufacture what they needed. When the goods brought with them began to wear out, the blacksmith built his forge, the weaver set up his loom and the tailor brought out his goose. A tannery was built on the nearest stream and mills for

grinding the wheat and corn were erected on the swift water courses. Saw mills were set up and logs were turned into plank. The women not only made their own dresses but the material for them as well, spinning the wool and afterwards the cotton into lindsey and checks and dying it according to the individual taste. The beavers furnished elegant tiles for the gentry. The immigrants were recorded as weavers, joiners, coopers, wheelwrights, wagon-makers, tailors, teachers, blacksmiths, hatters, merchants, laborers, wine-makers, miners, rope-makers, fullers, surveyors, and gentlemen, the last being rather a rank than a vocation. In other words the people were an industrial as well as an industrious people. They were producers. And when a man has built a little home in an untrodden wilderness, felled the forest, furnished the home, and has begun to produce not only for his necessities but a comfortable surplus for his family he does not feel like paying tribute to a king or a parliament across the seas, who drove him across the seas by their stupid tyranny.

Nearly all the farms of any size had a distillery attached and a good deal of the corn was marketed in liquid form. One of the faults of the Scotch settlers was drunkenness, though the majority were temperate drinkers. A punch bowl and glasses were found among the effects of Rev. Alexander Craighead, founder of the earliest churches of the Mecklenburg region. Whiskey played a great part on funeral occasions, and especially at "vendues" where it was supposed to put the buyers in good humor and was charged to the estate disposed of. The tavern on the public road was a famous institution of these early days and the variety of the liquors sold reminds one of the English inn that Dickens

has portrayed. Among the amusements of the people were horse racing and shooting matches and the game of long bullets, played with an iron ball, the effort of each side being, as in foot ball, to keep the ball from passing the adversary's goal and putting it through one's own. But while gambling was permitted and drunkenness condoned, profane swearing was punished severely, the amount of the fine sometimes depending on the vigor and variety of the oaths used. The children received six months schooling and the number of college-bred men in a Scotch-Irish community was large. The warlike instincts of the people were kept alive by the military muster, which became the occasion for a gathering together of a county to the county-seat. The Scotch-Irish were noted for their skill with the rifle, and rifles were manufactured at High Shoals at an early date, a specimen, with its long barrel and wooden stock extending to the end of the barrel, having been presented to General Washington and being highly prized by him.

But the life of the Scotch-Irish, as in Scotland and in Ireland, centered around the church.

One of the earliest notes of the presence of Scotch-Irish in the West was made by Governor Dobbs, in 1755, who found that some "Irish Protestants had settled together, with families of eight or ten children each, and had a school teacher of their own." In the same year Rev. Hugh McAden made a missionary visit from the Hico to the Catawba and found Scotch-Irish settlements in Mecklenburg at Rocky River, Sugar Creek, and the Waxhaws. The seven Presbyterian churches of Mecklenburg created the social and religious, and we had almost said the political

life of the county, for the first fifty years of its history. Alexander Craighead, getting into difficulty with New Brunswick Presbytery in New Jersey on account of his extreme republican views, found a congenial home in this Scotch-Irish section. Hanna calls him "the foremost American of his day in advocating the prinicples of civil liberty under a Republican form of government." Besides him were Hugh McAden, who settled in Caswell, the "eloquent Patillo" of Granville and Orange, Caldwell of Guilford, celebrated for his connection with the battle of the Alamance and the later struggles of the Revolution; McCorkle of Rowan, Hall of Iredell, Balch, McCaule and Alexander. These men were conservative, as witness their reluctance to espouse the cause of the Regulation. But they were equally firm in advocating the real principles of liberty that came to the front at the beginning of the Revolution.

It is interesting to trace the grievances of the colonists as the day of the Revolution dawned and to see how they were the same from which the Ulsterites had suffered. There were religious exactions which were galling in the extreme, although it must be confessed that the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina managed to escape the operation of the laws that were intended to oppress them. Their ministers performed the marriage ceremony in spite of the efforts to make it illegal and the marriage void. Presbyterian elders had themselves duly elected vestrymen of St. George's Parish and thus were in a position to see to it that the Established Church was not established in Mecklenburg. There were the petty annoyances of the slave trade forced upon an unwilling people by the King, and the stamp tax, and then the

determination to tax the people of America without allowing them representation in Parliament. Finally, when the people had planned the erection of a great university, Queen's College, that it was hoped would rival Oxford and Cambridge, the charter was refused them by the King on the ground that he could not afford to promote Presbyterian education. By this time, the colony of North Carolina had been thoroughly organized with county committees, the Scotch-Irish counties having their people fully disciplined to the work that was cut out for them. One of those committees met, in connection with a military muster, which was really a turning out of the people, at Charlotte, on May 19th, 1775. While certain papers and resolutions, looking to county action in the present disordered state of the country were being earnestly discussed, the messenger arrived with the stirring news of the battle of Lexington. The watch-word of the Colony had long been, "The cause of Boston is the cause of us all." But with the story of a conflict with British troops, in which a military company had been fired upon by the red-coats, in which also the Americans, raw troops as they were, had won a notable victory, the feelings of the people surged forth. The reports that had been before the meeting were referred to a committee of three and after midnight of the day of assemblage, on May 20th, in fact, the Mecklenburg Declaration was read to the people, the moving cause of the proceedings being really stated in the second resolution:

"*Resolved,* That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us with the mother country, and absolve ourselves from all allegiance

to the British crown, abjuring all political connection with a nation that has wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of Americans at Lexington."

On the 31st of the same month the committee met according to adjournment to pass laws and regulations for the county, and, perhaps feeling that there was a better reason for the passage of such regulations than the battle of Lexington, made another declaration of independence on the ground that Parliament had declared the colonies in a state of rebellion and they were therefore forced to provide against anarchy. A member of Parliament had pointed out that any of the Colonies could plead this reason for independence, once the act was passed declaring that a rebellion existed in the Colony of Massachusetts. Any man who signed the Declaration of the Twentieth of May could have signed the Resolves of the 31st. And to the canny Scotch of Mecklenburg the latter were equally effective and a bit safer in case of the victory of King George.

The Scotch-Irish were conspicuous in the battle of Moore's Creek, which saved the colony to the cause of freedom. In that battle they met the Scotch as Lowlander and Highlander had often met before in Scotland. But the Scotch-Irish played a scurvy trick upon their brethren, the Scotch Royalists, by using the rifle against the broadsword and forcing the Highlanders to cross a narrow foot-bridge on which the rifle-fire was concentrated.

The battle of Ramsour's Mill in what was then Tryon County was one of the most successful of the entire war, 400 patriots under Colonel Locke having vanquished 1,100 To-

ries. Colonel Davidson with 250 men put to flight a larger body of Tories at Colson's Farm, at the confluence of Rocky River and the Pee Dee. The Scotch-Irish were conspicuous sufferers in the disaster of Hanging Rock. The Battle of Charlotte itself was no inconsiderable skirmish, in which three or four hundred mounted militiamen under Major Joseph Graham held a force of ten times their number in check and thrice repulsed them. The affair at McIntyre's farm doubtless helped to earn for Charlotte the soubriquet of the "Hornets' Nest." There, fourteen men, expert riflemen, fired upon a British foraging party of more than a hundred, killed eight at the first fire and wounded twelve of the enemy, and escaped without injury though they sent the foraging party in a hurry back to Charlotte. If these encounters of American and British soldiers had occurred in New England, they would have been immortalized in song and story. The Scotch-Irish have not been as particular about writing history as they have been busy making it.

But the battle of Kings Mountain was the most glorious witness of the valor of the Scotch-Irish during the Revolution and it was at the same time the victory that made Yorktown possible. The majority of the troops were North Carolinians while the Virginians were from Washington County in the Scotch-Irish section and the South Carolina troops had been recruited in Rowan County, North Carolina. These thirteen hundred and seventy men attacked Ferguson in his strong position, with over one thousand men to defend it, on King's Mountain, and killed or captured the entire force after a desperate fight. The victory put heart of hope into the failing Continental cause and was influential in de-

termining the subsequent movements of Cornwallis and his final surrender. The battle of Guilford Court House was really another British defeat, as Cornwallis lost 600 men in killed and wounded and some of his most valued officers, retreating to Wilmington instead of advancing into Virginia. The North Carolina militia from Guilford and the adjoining counties do not deserve the reproach that has been heaped upon them by careless military critics. They were ordered to fire twice by General Greene himself and then to retire. They waited until the enemy were 150 yards away, fired their first volley with great effect, loaded and fired again, some of them the third time, and only retreated when the bayonets clashed against their unloaded rifles. And these were troops who had never been under fire, meeting the flower of the British army. A conclusive testimony to their cool courage is given by Captain Dugald Stuart, who commanded the Scotch Highlanders, the Seventy-First Regiment. Writing nearly fifty years afterwards, he says: "In the advance we received a very deadly fire from the Irish line of the American army, composed of their marksmen lying on the ground behind a rail fence. One-half the Highlanders dropped on that spot."

From the close of the Revolution to the breaking out of the Civil War the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina were foremost in the peaceful upbuilding of the commonwealth, in government, in education, in commercial enterprise. Nor were they wanting when the country was at war again, whether with Great Britain a second time, with Mexico or in the clash of the great Civil conflict. Theirs has been a long line of Carolina statesmen. They have ornamented the bar and the pul-

pit. Than their soldiers there have been none braver. There was many a Stonewall Jackson in the ranks, claiming the same heroic blood, as they followed him. And on Virginia's battlefields, yea in Tennessee and Pennsylvania, there lie in unmarked graves thousands of the descendants of that ancient Scottish race, that fought at Londonderry and Enniskillen as their children fought at Gettysburg and Chicamauga.

To-day the most prosperous section of the Old North State is just that section which the Scotch-Irish settlers chose for their homes. It is a great race of people. They fear God and have no other fear. They stand for truth and right. Their fault is sometimes that thrift degenerates into penuriousness. They keep the Sabbath and all else that they can lay their hands upon. But they have had to fight so hard for so many centuries to establish for others the difference between *meum* and *tuum* that we should perhaps give them a little time to get over the realization of the *meum* at last. They speak the truth, and though they may want the uttermost farthing that is due them, they do not want, and they will not take, a farthing more. In Mecklenburg County for a hundred years of recorded history not a white native was indicted for larceny.

Theirs is the race of the hard head but the warm heart, of the stiff backbone but also of the achieving hand. They have done their share in working out the prinicples of civil and religious liberty and of erecting our institutons of government. They love order and law even though their fighting propensities may nowadays bloom in legal contentions of which there is no profit. But whether in peace or war, the

State and the Nation can count on this hardy and heroic strain for high and noble service. They are of those who swear to their own hurt and change not. It might be said of thousands, as was said of their great compatriot, John Knox, "they never feared the face of man." And the surprises and even the convulsions of the future will find them unafraid.

Authorities: The Scotch-Irish Families of America. Charles A. Hanna; Foote's Sketches of North Carolina; Colonial Records; Hawk's History of North Carolina; Martin's History of North Carolina; Wheeler's Sketches; David Schenck's, North Carolina in 1780-81; Tompkin's History of Mecklenburg County; General Joseph Graham and Revolutionary Papers; with special indebtedness to the first-named book for its valuable historical and statistical notes.

RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. D. H. HILL, WHO DIED ON DECEMBER 12, 1904.

WHEREAS, Since our last meeting it has pleased our All-wise and Heavenly Father to remove from us our honored Vice-President, whom we loved for her noble womanly qualities of head and heart, and in whom we found a genial, gentle and ever-willing associate, descended from a line of Christian heroes, prominent in time of war as well as in times of peace; therefore,

Resolved, That we mourn her loss to the Society and to the State, and blend our tears with those of her immediate family, to whom we extend our cordial and earnest sympathy in this sad bereavement, and while doing so, urge our members to emulate her noble Christian character, her patriotism and her generosity.

Resolved, That this resolution be spread upon the records of the Society, and a copy forwarded by the Secretary to the family of the deceased.

MRS. THOMAS K. BRUNER, *Regent.*
MRS. E. E. MOFFITT, *Secretary.*
MRS. ED. CHAMBERS SMITH,
MRS. MARY B. SHERWOOD,
MRS. PAUL HINTON LEE,
MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD,
MRS. IVAN PROCTOR,
MRS. JOHN CROSS,
MISS GRACE BATES,

Committee.

+ Isabella Morrison Hill.

TRIBUTE FROM A FRIEND.

In Memoriam Mrs. Isabella Morrison Hill, Widow of Gen. D. H. Hill.

"The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and temperance."

This summary of the full fruition of a beautiful life was never more admirably illustrated than in the declining days of the lovely lady, who seems to have been spared to reach the ripe old age of nearly four score years to prove before the world the truth of God's Holy Word. Mrs. Isabella Morrison Hill survived most of her youthful friends and contemporaries, but she was comforted by being spared to see her children in the front rank of those who are faithful to God and useful to their fellow-men. She descended, through both father and mother, from men and women who feared God and served their State by showing their devotion to civil and religious liberty. Her father, Dr. Robert Hall Morrison, was a profound scholar, an able preacher and an exemplary Christian. He had the cultured manner of a Cavalier with the stern virtues of a Covenanter.

Dr. Morrison was the son of Neill Morrison, one of the Scotch-Irishmen who signed the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Her mother was Mary Graham, the youngest daughter of the Revolutionary hero, General Joseph Graham, and his wife Isabella Davidson, who was a daughter of Major John Davidson and grand-daughter of Samuel Wilson, both of whom pledged their lives by signing the same noted instrument. Miss Isabella Davidson Morrison was born at

Fayetteville on the 28th day of January, 1825, while her father was serving the old church, whose history went back to the days of Cross Creek and Flora McDonald. She would have attained the age of eighty within a few weeks.

On the 2nd of November, 1848, she was happily married to Major D. H. Hill, who had gone to Mexico a Second Lieutenant, had won by gallantry the rank of Major, and was destined to win higher honors and render more important service in the struggle for the Lost Cause.

Mrs. Hill was the oldest of six sisters, two of whom, Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Brown, are living, and three of whom, Mrs. Irwin, Mrs. Rufus Barringer and Mrs. A. C. Avery, are dead. She leaves five children, Mrs. Eugenia Arnold, wife of Thomas Jackson Arnold, the nephew of General T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson; Miss Nannie Hill, a teacher of art, now residing in Florida; Dr. Randolph Hill, of Los Angeles, Cal.; D. H. Hill, author and professor of literature in the A. and M. College at Raleigh, and Chief Justice Joseph M. Hill, of Arkansas. Those who know her children, all leaders in their chosen life work, realize that she has not lived in vain.

Mrs. Hill's devotion to her husband and her faithful care of her children marked her as a model wife and mother. Patient in suffering, submissive to God's will, her face wore a serene smile during her last days that suggested the reflected light of the land upon whose border she was conscious she stood.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET



GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

SKETCH OF THE BATTLE OF GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE

BY MAJOR JOSEPH M. MOREHEAD

THE GERMAN PALATINES IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY JUDGE OLIVER H. ALLEN.



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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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SHORT SKETCH OF THE BATTLE OF GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE FROM THE VIEW-POINT OF RESULTS.

BY MAJOR JOSEPH M. MOREHEAD.

The name of Washington overshadows of course that of every other Revolutionary soldier, and yet the inquiry presents itself, did Washington assume graver responsibility, or evince truer courage in accepting the command of the American Army than that assumed and displayed by Greene in accepting the command of the Southern Department in December, 1780? I take it to be true that when England determined in the winter of '79-80 to transfer the seat of active hostilities to the Southern Department from Delaware to Virginia, inclusive, Greene was Washington's choice as commander for the same, as he was his favorite of all the officers under him. But the fearful lessons of the fall of Charleston in May '80 and of the disastrous defeat at Camden in August following, it seems were necessary before the appointment was allowed to be made and accepted. Upon his arrival at Charlotte, N. C., in December '80 Greene in the face of a hitherto victorious army of British Regulars was under the necessity of creating an army from militia who had borne the brunt of war for five weary years—around a nucleus of Regulars—a handful—too naked to appear on dress parade. After the battle of Cowpens, January 17th, 1781, Greene retreated rapidly as possible across North Carolina and effected

his escape from Cornwallis by crossing the Dan river below Danville, Va., on February 15th or 14th. Cornwallis arrived on the south bank the same day. With what courage, fortitude and skill Greene and his men pushed their forlorn hope to victory let the fathers tell. The reader is referred to the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution published by Congress in 1890.

Here we read, Volume 4, page 363, John Adams to Benjamin Franklin (Paris).

"Leyden,Holland, April 16, 1781—I think the Southern States will have the honor, after all, of putting this continent in the right way of finishing the business of the war. There has been more sheer fighting there in proprortion than anywhere."

Page 419, Adams to Franklin (Amsterdam).

"May 16, 1781—The news from the Southern States of America of continual fighting, in which our countrymen have done themselves great honor, has raised the spirit of Holland from that unmanly gloom and despondency into which they had been thrown by defeats by the English."

Page 802, Robert Livingstone, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Dana, in Europe.

"Philadelphia, October 22, 1781—I have the pleasure of communication to you the important account of two signal victories lately obtained over the enemy in these quarters: One by General Greene, which has been followed by the reestablishment of the governments of South Carolina and of Georgia. The other at Yorktown. You will not fail to make the best use of this intelligence which must fix our independ-

ence not only beyond all doubt, but even beyond controversy."

Page 817, Robert Morris to General Greene:

"Office of Finance, November 2, 1781—Your favor of the 17th of September last has been delivered to me. I hope it is unnecessary to make assurances of my disposition to render your situation both easy and respectable." * * I have neither forgotten nor neglected your department. I have done the utmost to provide clothing, arms, accoutrements, medicines, hospital stores, etc., and I flatter myself that you will receive through the different departments both benefit and relief from my exertions. * * * * * You have done so much with so little that my wishes to increase your activity have every possible stimulus."

Beyond doubt Guilford was the most important battle embraced within all this fighting. But the one fact that Cornwallis kept the field has wrongfully transferred victory there to the British instead of to the American Army. King's Mountain and Cowpens, glorious and complete victories as they were, by no means drove Cornwallis from his original purpose and plan of capturing South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, though they conduced tremendously to that triumph achieved at the battle of Guilford Court House; just as the release of South Carolina and Georgia flowed from it.

Upon receipt of the news of the "victory" Fox said, that the results to Cornwallis of the "victory" were identical with those that would have been caused by defeat. In Tarleton's Campaigns, page 320, we read the following extract from a letter of General Greene to Philadelphia—the battle having been fought March 15th, when Greene had retired

northward "in good order," as Stedman affirms, to his fortified camp eighteen miles north of the battlefield.

Tarleton affirms that when urged to come out and again join battles Cornwallis replied that among the streams of South Carolina Greene might entangle and destroy his army.

"Greene's Headquarters, Ramsey's,
"Deep River, March 30, 1781.

"I wrote you the 23rd instant from Buffalo Creek (South Guilford) since which time we have been in pursuit of the enemy with the determination to bring them into action again. On the 27th we arrived at Rigden's Ford, 12 miles above this, and found the enemy then lay at Ramsey's. Our army was put in motion without loss of time, but we found the enemy had crossed some hours before our arrival and with such precipitation that they had left their dead unburied upon the ground."

Tarleton says, pages 279 and 280: "The British obtained information that General Greene's army had reached Buffalo Creek, southward of Guilford Court House. The day before the King's troops arrived at Ramsey's the Americans insulted the Yagers in their encampment. The Royalists remained a few days at Ramsey's for the benefit of the wounded and to complete a bridge over Deep River, when the light troops of the American again disturbed the pickets. The British crossed the river and the same day General Greene reached Ramsey's with the intention to attack them. The halt of the King's troops at that place nearly occasioned an action which would not probably have been advantageous to the royal forces

on account of the position and the disheartening circumstance of their being encumbered with so many wounded officers and men in the action at Guilford."

Having reached his ships at Wilmington Cornwallis was tendered the alternative of again fighting Greene or of seeing him unmolested destroy in detail the British troops, then garrisoning South Carolina and Georgia. He chose the former.

Stedman, perhaps the most trustworthy historian of the period, in his account of the Battle of Guilford Court House, gives us the most unique commentary, account or criticism upon or of any battle whatever, that I ever saw. It is a literary curiosity, as well as a curiosity historical. He says: "Thus we find that the battle of Guilford drew after it some, and it will afterwards appear that it was followed by all the consequences of something nearly allied to a defeat." So will the conscientious squirm when too hard pressed.

As soon as Greene had passed southward Cornwallis hastened to Virginia with no one to confront him—thus abandoning South Carolina and Georgia to their fate and the original plan and purpose of his campaign in hopes, I suppose, that something might turn up in Virginia. Vain hope! Confronted in Virginia by no force worthy of his steel he idled around effecting nothing till Washington, giving Clinton in New York the slip, bagged him at Yorktown.

I recall no battle of the Revolutionary War more extensive or more fortunate in its results to the American cause, than that of the battle of Guilford Court House.

My allotted space being occupied I add hurriedly and in conclusion that it is a matter of easy proof, that the plan and conduct of the battle of Guilford Court House was conceived in wisdom and courageously and effectively carried out, and that even Greene's retreat from the field was a matter of judgment and not of necessity. Greene had, as he had previously written Washington that he would do, so crippled Cornwallis and burdened him with wounded men and officers as to rid North Carolina of his presence, and he had, as he had affirmed he would do, preserved his regulars—the last he could hope to get, with whom as a nucleus he released two States and caused the surrender of Cornwallis at Yortkown. That was the end of the war.

THE GERMAN PALATINES IN NORTH CAROLINA.

BY JUDGE OLIVER H. ALLEN.

The barbarity of war has its only parallel in the cruelties of religious persecutions.

The remarkable people who are the subject of this paper suffered from both in a manner that appeals to the pathetic side of our nature above that of all the peoples that ever came to our land in early days excepting perhaps, the Lost Colony whom they excelled in long suffering.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) by Louis XIV, which in 1598 had insured religious freedom to protestants in that part of Europe embracing the country inhabited by these people began afresh the fires of persecution which drove the Huguenots and Dissenters from their homes. Many of them eventually settled in North and South Carolina and their protestant German neighbors soon followed them.

One of the most picturesque spots in all Europe on both sides of the Rhine around Heidelburg, its principal city, was the country known as "The Palatinate on the Rhine," whose inhabitants were Germans, a country no longer having a place in the geography of Europe—but the territory now mostly forming a part of Bavaria and Banden, and its population scattered abroad and known for a long time as "The Palatines." A large number of them were settled in New York and other in South Carolina. Dr. Benjamin Rush in his

essay on the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania says: "The aged Germans and the ancestors of those who are young migrated chiefly from the Palatinate," and from these latter come our thrifty German population in the central part of the State, who came to North Carolina because "Lands could not be obtained in Pennsylvania without much difficulty."

Close upon the causes which drove the Huguenots from their country came the "Spanish War of Succession." Long before this war the Palatines had been objects of hatred and persecution but they clung to their beautiful land.

Heidelburg from the time of the Reformation had been the stronghold of protestant learning and hence a mark of Romish rancour. In 1622 it had been reduced to ruins and its splendid library sent to Rome.

When the war over the Spanish throne arose, lasting thirteen years and involving a greater part of Europe, Louis XIV. seized upon the opportunity of carrying his arms into Germany, whose inhabitants were mostly protestants, and it is said "that wherever he sent his army among the Germans it carried fire and sword, desolation and ruin."

The rest of the story of their suffering is vividly told by Dr. Bernheim:

"The peaceful inhabitants of the Palatinate, plundered of all their earthy possessions, were driven in midwinter as exiles from their native lands to seek an asylum in some safe and friendly country. They beheld their comfortable cottages and once amply-filled barns and storehouses smouldering in the flames behind them, whilst they and their helpless wives and children, ruined in worldly prosperity, naked, feeble, and

in a starving condition, were wending their weary way over vast fields of snow and ice, leaving their bloody footprints in the frozen snow, seeking shelter and finding none.

"Numbers perished by the way, others dragged along their feeble bodies until at last they found safety in the Netherlands, and from thence they journeyed into England. This is no overdrawn picture. Says a distinguished writer: 'The ravages of Louis XIV. in the beautiful valleys of the Rhine, were more fierce and cruel than even Mahometans could have had the heart to perpetrate. Private dwellings were razed to the ground, fields laid waste, cities burnt, churches demolished, and the fruits of industry wantonly and ruthlessly destroyed. But three days of grace were allowed to the wretched inhabitants to flee their country, and in a short time, the historian tells us, 'the roads were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women and children, flying from their homes.'

"Many died of cold and hunger; but enough survived to fill the streets of all the cities of Europe with lean and squalid beggars, who had once been thriving farmers and shopkeepers.' "

About twelve thousand of them went to England, being invited there by the good Queen Ann (1708), who cared for them with a genuine Christian magnanimity. Four thousand of them were settled by her in New York and others elsewhere.

About this time Christopher DeGraffenried and Louis Mitchell were preparing to emigrate to America with a large Swiss population, their own countrymen. Negotiations were

entered into between them and the Queen's commissioners by which it was arranged for about six hundred of the Palatines to be settled in Carolina upon ten thousand acres of land located in one body on or between the Neuse and Cape Fear rivers. Accordingly these Palatine immigarnts started for America in January, 1710, (though another account says 1709), DeGraffenried says he selected them, young, laborious and of all kind of avocations and handicraft and provided for them well, but they were overtaken by terrible storms and were thirteen weeks crossing the Atlantic. More than half of them died on the sea. They arrived at the mouth of the James river and were there assailed and plundered by a French captain. After recruiting they started by land for Carolina, stopping with Thomas Pollock on the Chowan river, who put them across the sound *sed pro pecunia* and in September they arrived on a tongue of land between the Neuse and Trent rivers and were first settled on the southern side of Trent river on lands which it turned out belonged mostly to the Surveyor General and there they remained in a state of "sickness, want and desperation" till the arrival later of DeGraffenried with his Swiss colony, and here was started the city of New Bern, named after the capital city of Switzerland.

One would suppose that the trials and misfortunes of these unfortunate people were now at an end save the hardships incidental to the life of the early settlers, but not so.

As to their further experience let them speak for themselves through a document preserved in the *Colonial Records*

which is so interesting that no apology is necessary for copying it in full:

"To His Most Excellent Majesty King George the Second King of Great Britain, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.

"The Humble Petition of the Palatines in North America Humbly Shewith

"That your Petitioners being sent, six hundred in number, by Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Ann into America under the Care of Christopher Gravenreid Barronet Her Majesty, of her bountiful kindness, paid each man Twenty Shillings Sterling for to purchase Necessarys for their peopling and settling her Plantations in North America, And Gentlemen of England raised the like sum with six pair of hand mill-stones and two pair of water mill-stones for like purpose which said sums and mill-stones your petitioners put into the care of their Trustee aforesaid, who promised to pay them in North Carolina three pounds for one received from them in England.

"That your Petitioners, pursuant to Her Majesty's Proclamation sent to Germany in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and eight had their Lands laid out to them (to wit) to each Family two hundred and fifty acres; That your Petitioners Trustee Baron Grovenreid aforesaid entered into an agreement with them to find each Family 2 cows and 2 calves, 2 sows with their young, 2 ewe sheep and 2 lambs with a male of each kind, which said stock your petitioners were to have in possession for the space of seven years, and at the Expiration of such Term to deliver their said Trustee the said Principal and at Expiration of five years

of said Term to pay him the yearly rent of two pence per acre. That in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and nine your petitioner arrived in America and in the year 1711 Indians broke out against and destroyed several Familys in which enterprize our Trustee was taken by the Indians whilst he was yet amongst them. We expected him killed then came one Thomas Pollock who ruled both Goveneur and Country and acted in behalf as a General send to his Captain William Brice to take all the Dutch that were able to bear arms and meet him at an Indian Town which was about six Leagues from our Inhabitants accordingly we did but he never met but left us to sit two days and one night with the Indians soon after Grovenreid was brought in but did not stay long with us who carried off from out Settlements all that he could conveniently come at, promising to return with provisions and necessarys for the war but never returned nor made the least satisfaction for these Things received nor the money alowed us by her most Gracious Majesty or the Gentlemen of England with two hundred pounds, which we also put into interest at our departure from England.

"That as soon as our Trustee departed, the said Colonel Thomas Pollock came to our Settlements and took every thing even the mill stones and left us without any Assistance entirely naked to the mercy of the Indians.

"That at the expiration of four years the Indian War ended and then came the said Pollock and took our Lands from us that we had in Virtue of her Majesty's Proclamation laid out to us. We your distressed Petitioners being in an unknown part of the world and quite destitute of any assis-

tance was obliged to submit to him the said Pollock who under Colours of a relapsed pattent holds the land to this day. That in the year One Thousand seven hundred and forty seven, the fifth day of January the Heir of Colonel Thomas Pollock come to our Plantations to turn us off from our possessions by virtue of Authority in order to settle the Rebels the Scots in our possessions it being in the dead time of Winter not knowing which way to go with our Familys by which we were compelled to give him our Bonds for as much as he was pleased to ask.

"That your Petitioner most humbly prays that your most sacred Majesty will be pleased to award us your poor Petitioners who have undergone the Fatigues of so long and Tedious a War against the Barbarous Indians a Decree for our said Land and at any Term of rents under Your Most Gracious Majesty, as to your Majesty may seem meet.

"And your Distressed Petitioners as in Duty bound will eber pray

"Philip Feneyer, Henry Grest, Christian Esler, Jacob Miller, Herman Grum, Christian Walker, Peter Ender, Matthias Reasonover, Joseph Pugar, Dennis Moor, Adam Moor, John Granade, Abraham Busit, John Rimer, Henry Morris, Michael Gesibel, Jacob Eibach, Christian Bavar, Nicholas Rimer, Peter Reyet, John Kinsey, Michael Kiser, Andrew Wallis, Peter Lots, John Simons, Daniel Tetchey, Daniel Simons, Peter Pillman, George Sneidor, Abraham Baver, Frederick Market, Christian Ganter, Casper Risherd, Simon Kehler, Michael Shelfer, Jacob Huber, Jno Lekgan Miller,

Jno Bernard, Shone Woolf, George Renege, Christian Hubboch, John Kensey, Phillip Omend."

The Lords of Trade and Plantations (Pitt, Greenville and Duplin) thereupon reported that pursuant to the orders of the Privy Council of 13th June, 1747, they had taken into consideration the humble petition of the Palatines in North Carolina, who were a "laborious people employed in manufacturing pitch and tar and other commodities, that they had struggled with great hardships as alleged in their petition and dispossessed of their possessions."

They are further represented in this report as being a "sober, industrious people and had a great many near relations murdered in the Indian War and yet are in a worse position than any of His Majesty's subjects in that Province by reason of exorbitant quit rents and proclamation money which was an intolerable load."

Governor Gabriel Johnston was directed to investigate the matter and he reported that he had the heirs of Thomas Pollock and "these people" before him and the heirs of Pollock represented that DeGraffenried had been to considerable expense on account of the Palatines and had gotten in debt to their father between six and seven hundred pounds for which he gave a bill of exchange which was protested and thereupon he mortgaged all his estate in that Province both real and personal for the payment of the said debt. A decree in chancery was obtained for said estate and, upon DeGraffenried failing to pay, these lands were surveyed and patented in Pollock's name.

The Palatines were advised to apply to chancery for relief,

but the report says "as they were not well acquainted with the language and ignorant of the laws they were afraid to commence a suit."

The King directed and required that grants be forthwith made to the petitioners of so much land as should be equivalent to the lands they had been dispossessed of.

In 1749 about two years later David Shuts and George Kernegu of the surviving Palatines appeared before the council with a list of those entitled to the relief and Governor Gabriel Johnston requested the General Assembly to provide for surveying the lands, but that body requested a postponement because "they had been so long from their homes," and finally in 1750 Governor Johnston reported that he should put the order relative to the "poor Palatines" into immediate execution.

Thus forty years at least after their arrival in America those who survived commenced colonial life anew. That they were treated badly there is no doubt, but at this late day it is difficult to fix the blame with any degree of satisfaction. There has never been any suggestion of wrong conduct on the part of Mitchell. The heirs of Pollock justify their course on the ground that DeGraffenried mortgaged the property to their ancestor and he was given two years to redeem it after the decree was obtained, and there is no evidence that Thomas Pollock knew that DeGrafferied was trustee unless his position as Governor was such as to put him on notice. DeGraffenried was disappointed and in debt, and after his narrow escape from death at the hands of the Indians when Lawson was cruelly burned, he likely become desperate and deter-

mined to try some other venture. So he went to Virginia and undertook a mining scheme which proved a signal failure and being threatened with arrest for debt he advised with friends, made his way up to New York, and sailed for England where after having some trouble with his distressed miners who had followed he passed in disguise to the continent. Thus his condition with this German colony might rest but for one thing. He defames them without cause and does it in general terms without stating any facts.

It comes with bad grace in a paper written after he reached Switzerland to "justify himself" when he had passed through England and failed to make any report to the Queen with whose commissioners he had entered into a solemn contract to colonize these people. One of the provisions of the contract was that "these articles shall be taken and construed in the most favorable sense for the ease, comfort and advantage of the said poor Palatines intending to settle in the country or Province of North Carolina."

This and every subsequent act of the good Queen Ann and of the King afterwards shows that they were regarded tenderly by them, and Gabriel Johnston likewise shows a becoming anxiety for them.

There is nowhere in any record or history a line that speaks otherwise than favorable of them save in the *ex parte* account by the Baron of his various "mishaps." It smacks of calumny upon these people in order to furnish an excuse for his own failure and wrong, and he spares not his own Bernese people. On the contrary, their past history, their lives of persecution

and poverty and perseverence as well as a study of their descendants refutes every insinuation against them.

As to their religion they were likely of the Lutheran Church originally. DeGraffenried says that on the day before their departure he went with Mr. Cesan, a German minister of the Reformed Church of London, to cheer up these people and to wish them a happy voyage, but he afterwards arranged with the Bishop of London to accept him and his people into the English Church, and in the course of time their descendants became connected with the various Christian denominations in their section of the State.

After the second grant of lands to them they were mostly thrown out into the territory covered by the counties of Craven, Jones, Onslow, Duplin and contiguous sections where their descendants are now mostly to be found, and, mixing with the scattering Huguenots, the Scotch in the Cape Fear section and the descendants of the early Irish settlers of Puplin and Sampson, whose fathers like theirs had come over in search of religious and political freedom, they with their allies have become one of the most substantial class of people known to any country.

While no account has been kept of the Palatines it is easy to recognize many of the families from the few names we have recorded, allowing for the corruption of names which was very common in that day.

For instance: Croom (Grum), Isler (Esler), Moore (Mohr), Wallace (Wallis), Simmons (Simons), Gaunto (Gantor), Teachey (Tetchey), Kornegay (Kernegee—Renege), Martin Franch (Martin Franke), Miller (Muil-

ler), Morris, Walker, Kinsey and others. Wherever found they represent the best type of German industry, frugaltiy and integrity.

Rush says of the Germans of his State: "A German farm may be distinguished from the farms of other citizens of the State."

The Palatines are spoken of as "sober, moral and industrious," the others as "industrious, frugal, punctual and just." And so other resemblances might be easily shown by reference to individuals especially.

Little is known as to what became of the Swiss colony. They are represented by one historian as being fifteen hundred in number, but DeGraffenried says "a small colony from Bern." They departed from their own country and at a different time from the others and they were not embraced in the agreement with Her Majesty's Commissioners.

References: DeGraffenried's Manuscript, North Carolina Histories. Colonial Records—Vols. I, p. 905 and IV. Bernheim's German Settlements in the Carolinas. Rush's Essays.

Had DeGraffenried remained with them and carried out his contract their identity would likely have been as well preserved to this day as the German character is still in New York and Pennsylvania and in some counties in the central part of the State, for they are the same people.

Note some of the resemblances: DeGraffenried says of the Palatines: They were "healthy, laborious and of all kind of avocation and handicraft." Rush says of the Germans of

Pennsylvania: "They were farmers and many mechanics, weavers, tanners, shoemakers, smiths," etc. He also says that many of them lost valuable estates by being unacquainted with the common forms of law. The Lords of Plantations report that the Palatines by reason of their ignorance of the law would not go into chancery concerning the loss of their lands.

DeGraffenried says of their thrift, that within eighteen months they managed to build homes and made themselves so comfortable that they made more progress in that length of time than the English inhabitants did in several years.

(APPENDIX.)

CONTRACT WITH DeGRAFFENRIED.

(FROM WILLIAMSON'S HISTORY.)

"Articels of agreement, identified and made, published and agreed upon, this tenth day of October Anno Domini One thousand Seven hundred and nine, and in the eight year of the reign of our Sovereign lady Anne, by the Grace of God queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, between Christopher de Graffenrid of London Esq. and Lewis Mitchell of the same place Esq. of the one part, and Sir John Phillips Bart, Sir Alexander Cairnes Bart, Sir Theodore Janson Knt,White Kennet D.D., and dean of Peterborough, John Chamberlain, Esq., Frederick Slore, doctor of Physic, and Mr. Micajah Perry merchant, seven of the Com-

missioners and trustees nominated and appointed by her Majesty's late gracious letters patent, under the great seal of Great Britian, for the collecting, receiving and disposing of the money to be collected for the subsistence and settlement of the poor Palatines lately arrived in Great Britain, on the other part.

"Whereas the above named Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell have purchased to themselves and their heirs in fee, and are entitled to a large tract of land in that part of her Majesty's dominions in America called North Carolina, which now lies waste and uncultivated for want of inhabitants; and they the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell have applied themselves to the Commissioners appointed by the letters patent above mentioned for the subsistence and settlement of the poor distressed Palatines, that some number of the said poor Palatines may be disposed of and settled in the said tract of land in North Carolina aforesaid, as well for the benefit of the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell as for the relief and support of the said poor Palatines.

"And whereas, the said Commissioners have thought fit to dispose of for this purpose six hundred persons of the said Palatines, which may be ninety-two families more or less, and have laid out and disposed of to each of the said six hundred poor Palatines the sum of twenty shillings in clothes, and have likewise paid and secured to be paid to the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell the sum of five pounds ten shillings lawful money of Great Britain for each of the said six hundred persons, in consideration of and for their

transportation into North Carolina aforesaid, and for their comfortable settlement there.

"It is constituted, concluded and agreed, by and with the said parties to these presents in manner following:

"In primis, that the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell for the consideration aforesaid, at their own proper costs and charges shall, within the year ——— next after the date hereof embark or cause to be embarked on ships board, in and upon two several, ships, six hundred of such of the said poor Palatines as shall be directed by the said commissionres, which together may in all make up ninety-two families more or less, and cause the said persons to be directly transported to North Carolina aforesaid, providing them with food and other necessaries during their voyage thither.

"Item, that upon the arrival of the said six hundred poor Palatines in North Carolina aforesaid, the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell shall, within three months next after their said arrival there, survey and set out, or cause to be surveyed and set out, by metes and bounds, so much of the said tract of land above mentioned as shall amount to two hundred and fifty acres for each family of the said six hundred poor Palatines, be they ninety-two families more or less; and that the said several two hundred and fifty acres for each family be as contiguous as may be for the more mutual love and assistance of the said poor Palatines one to another, as well with respect to the exercise of their religion as the management of their temporal affairs.

"And for avoiding disputes and contentions among the said Palatines in the division of the said several two hundred and

fifty acres of land, It is agreed, that the said land, when set out by two hundred and fifty acres to a family, be divided to each family by lot.

"Item, that the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, their heirs executors or administrators, within three months next after the arrival of the said poor Palatines in North Carolina aforesaid, shall give and dispose of unto the said poor Palatines and to each family, by lot, two hundred and fifty acres of the tract of land above mentioned and by good assurances in law grant and convey the said several two hundred and fifty acres to the first and chief person or persons of each family their heirs and assigns forever: to be held the first five years thereafter without any acknowledgement for the same, and rendering and paying unto the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, their heirs executors and administrators, for every acre the sum of two pence lawful money of that country yearly and every year after the said term of five years.

"Item, that for and during one whole year after the arrival of the said poor Palatines in North Carolina aforesaid, the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell shall provide, or cause to be provided for, and deliver to the said poor Palatines sufficient quantities of grain and provision and other things for the comfortable support of life; but it is agreed, that the said poor Palatines respectively shall repay and satisfy the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, their heirs executors and administrators, for the full value of what they shall respectively receive on the amount at the end of the first year then next after.

"Item, that the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, at their own proper costs and charges within four months after their arrival there, shall provide for the said Palatines and give and deliver, or cause to be given or delivered to them, for their use and improvement, two cows and two calves, five sows with their several young, two ewe sheep and two lambs, with a male of each kind, who may be able to propagate, that at the expiration of seven years thereafter each family shall return to the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, their heirs or executors, the value of the said cattle to be delivered to them, with a moiety of the stock then remaining in their hands at the expiration of the said seven years.

"Item, that immediately after the division of the said two hundred and fifty acres among the families of the said Palatines, the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell shall give and dispose of gratis to each of the said Palatines a sufficient number of tools and implements for felling of wood and building of houses, etc.

"And lastly, it is covenanted, constituted and agreed, by and between all parties to these presents, that these articles shall be taken and construed in the most favorable sense for the ease, comfort and advantage of the said poor Palatines intending to settle in the country or province of North Carolina; that the said poor Palatines, doing and performing what is intended by these presents to be done on their parts, shall have and enjoy the benefits and advantages hereof without any further or other demand of and from the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, their heirs executors

or administrators or any of them; and that in case of difficulty it shall be referred to the Governor of the country or province of North Carolina, for the time being, whose order and directions, not contrary to the intentions of these presents, shall be binding upon the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, his heirs executors and administrators, as to the said poor Palatines.

"Witness whereof the said parties to these presents have interchangeably set their hands and seals the day above written.

"John Phillips (L. S.)
Alexander Cairnes (L. S.)
White Kennet (L. S.)
John Chamberlain (L. S.)
Frederick Slore (L. S.)
Micajah Perry (L. S.)

"Sealed and delivered by the within named Sir John Philips, Alexander Cairnes, White Kennet, John Chamberlain, Frederick Slore, Micajah Perry, having two six penny stamps.

"In presence of us.

William Taylor,
James De Pratt.

"We the within named Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, for ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, do hereby covenant and agree to and with the Commissioners and trustees within written, for and upon the like consideration mentioned, to take and receive fifty other persons in the families of the poor Palatines, to be disposed of

in like manner as the six hundred poor Palatines within specified, and to have and receive the like grants, privileges, benefits and advantages as the said six hundred Palatines have, may or ought to have, in every article and clause within written, and as if the said fifty Palatines had been comprised therein, or the said articles, clause and agreements had been here again particularly repeated and recited on to them.

"Witness our hands and seals this 21st day of Octobre, A. D. 1709.

"Christopher de Graffenrid,
Lewis Mitchell.

"Sealed and delivered this agreement in the presence of
"Wm. Taylor,
Jas. De Pratt."

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